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Savitri and Satyavan (in two colours).

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The following appears in a leading paragraph in the "Panjabee" of Lahore of December 4, 1905 :-

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A Map of India



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Emperor Akbar

His Holiness and De... ..

THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. II]

OCTOBER, 1905

[No. 2

THE EMPEROR AKBAR

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The character of Akbar is a difficult subject to deal with. By Europeans he is recognised as a champion of free thought and as a marvel of humanity and comprehensiveness. With his countrymen he is less popular. They admit his ability, energy and good fortune, but they regard him as hard and callous to human suffering, and of course those of them who are good Mahomedans are shocked by his claims to Divinity and his eclecticism. The truth seems to be that in recent times he has been somewhat over praised. Compared with his son, and with most of his other successors, he is a shining light; but though undoubtedly a great man, he had his full share of the defects of his age and country, and was moreover extremely and exceptionally ignorant.

Extraordinary as it may appear, it is a fact that he, the son and grandson of literary men, was unable to read and write. The fact is attested by Jerome Xavier, the Jesuit priest at his Court, who says of Akbar "*legere et scribere nescit*" and by his son Jehangir who records in his Memoirs that his father *Ummi Bud ard* i.e. was ignorant, or illiterate.* The fact of Akbar's ignorance is also admitted by Abul Fazl, though, after his manner, he turns the admission into a glorification of his master's wisdom.

Akbar's ignorance cannot be wholly accounted for by the circumstance that he was, so to speak, a child of the desert, and that

* It is remarkable that Akbar uses this word in one of his sayings (recorded by Abul Fazl, Jarrett, II. 385) where we find the remark: "The prophets were all illiterate (*ummi*). Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition." Perhaps this was a glance at his own history. He did not follow the precept with regard to any one of his own children, but then he did not regard himself as a believer. The passage in the Memoirs is translated in *Elliot*, VI. 290, but not, I think, correctly. Jahangir does not, I think, mean that his father's intellect was sharpened by intercourse with learned men, but that he was so dexterous that his auditors did not perceive that he was illiterate (Compare *Price*, p. 45). Apparently, Jahangir's remarks are a paraphrase of a passage in the *Akbarnama*, I. 270.

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his early years were full of hardship. His father and grandfather must, in a great measure, have educated themselves and Akbar might, without much difficulty, have done the same. But no doubt the wandering life he led in his boyhood partially explains his want of education.

Born at Umarkote on the edge of the desert on the 15th of October, 1542, and under distressful conditions, he became separated from his parents at the age of fourteen months, and did not see them again till he was over three years of age. It was in the city of Kabul and in November, 1545, that he saw his father again, but it was not till the following spring that he was restored to his mother. It was about this time that the ceremony of Akbar's circumcision was performed, and Abul Fazl tells a pretty story of how Humayun resolved to test his child's memory by causing Hamida Banu to come into the room where her child was, surrounded by her women and without any distinguishing dress or ornament, and how Akbar at once singled out his mother and sprang into her arms. Humayun had to leave Akbar again after a short time and he once more fell into the hands of his uncle, Kamran. According to tradition, this uncle was barbarous enough to expose his nephew on the battlements of Kabul in order to check the fire of the besiegers. Humayun's second conquest of Kabul restored his son to him. This was in April, 1547, and some months afterwards, viz. on 20th November, Akbar was put under a tutor. But the tutor was reported to be idle and addicted to pigeon-fancying. If this was true, he, no doubt, found Akbar an apt pupil in this respect, for the boy was, like his great grandfather, Umar Sheikh, a keen pigeon-fancier and he returned to this sport in his mature age. We are also told that on the day fixed by astrologers for commencing his lessons, Akbar hid himself and could nowhere be found—a sign, says Abul Fazl, that this special pupil of God was not to be contaminated by human instruction, and was to obtain his wisdom by gift and not by study.*

It may help us to understand Akbar's character if we consider his parentage. His father was Humayun, the eldest son of the

* Abul Fazl states that Akbar's schooling began on the 7th *Shawwal* "of this year." The context seems to show that the phrase "this year" means 954, and, if so, the date corresponds to the 20th of November, 1547. But Abul Fazl adds that Akbar was then four years, four months and four days old, and if so, there must be some mistake, for, on the 7th *Shawwal*, 954, Akbar was four years, three months and two days old according to the Mahomedan Calendar or five years, one month and five days old according to the Christian Calendar, he having been born on the 15th of October, 1542. If Abul Fazl means 953 the age is still incorrectly stated unless we reckon the four months, as *Rajab*, *Sheber*, *Ramzam*, and *Shawwal*, though the space of time is only three, and also reckon that Akbar was born on the 4th, and not the 5th, *Rajab*.

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famous Babar who founded the Moghul dynasty in India. Humayun was neither a great nor a good man, and one can only smile at the remark of Renan that the heredity of wisdom on the throne is rare, and that one of the only two remarkable exceptions to this of which he is aware is the succession in India of the three Moghul Emperors—Babar, Humayun and Akbar. There was very little *sugesse* about Humayun but he had the Stuart charm of manner and he had also the Stuart quality, noted by Barnet, of bearing misfortune better than prosperity. He was brave and amiable and his *bonhomie* made him a hero to his valet, honest Jauhar, his ewer-bearer, who has left us a pleasing picture of Humayun's good nature and fortitude. His father Babar often spoke of him as a delightful companion ; and though it is absurd to speak of him as the perfection of humanity, *Insar-i-kamil*, yet the epithet is not without justice if translated to mean perfect gentleman. He was an impulsive man but he had the merit of sticking to his impulses when they were generous, as for instance when he promised the water-carrier who ferried him across the Ganges that he would make him Emperor for half a day and kept his word. He also adhered with rare fidelity to the promise he made to his father that he would forgive his brothers their trespasses against him. Though it is true that he was at last constrained to have Kamran blinded, he spared his life and he had already forgiven him seven times, if not seventy times seven. He kept his word to Kamran that he would take care of his children and it is painful to have to record that it was Akbar, who is regarded as humane, who imprisoned Gulzar and afterwards put to death Kamran's son, Abul Qasim, and his own old playmate. Humayun's love of literature and science is a pleasing trait in his character. He patronised astronomers and historians, and carried books about with him in his wanderings. Unfortunately he was an opium-eater ; and this, in the opinion of his cousin, Haidar, was the cause of most of his errors. This propensity he inherited from his father—it must be remembered that tobacco was unknown in those days and that betel does not exist in Central Asia—and transmitted it to his son Akbar.

Humayun's marriage with Akbar's mother was a case of love at first sight and is a favourable instance of Humayun's impulsiveness. She was a poor man's daughter, but her lineage was noble, for she was descended from Ahmad of Jam, one of the great saints of Persia. Humayun met her accidentally when he was visiting his step-mother, Dildar Begum at Patr, a village in Scinde, formerly some twenty miles to the west of the Indus. The times were hardly propitious to thoughts of love. Humayun had been thoroughly defeated on

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two occasions by Sher Shah and was now vainly trying to establish himself in Scinde, and was contending with discontented brothers and false allies. He had been encamped at Bhakkar, where the railway now crosses the Indus, but his brother Hindal had left him and gone further down the river. Rumour had it that Hindal was meditating a flight to Kabul, and this was probably true for he did go off there not long afterwards. Humayun went off to his brother's camp to induce his brother to stay, and Dildar who was Hindal and Gulbadan Begum's full mother gave a party in Humayun's honour. The young girl Hamida Banu was then with her boy-brother, for their father was or had been Hindal's tutor and so the children often came about Dildar Begum. The pretty girl caught Humayun's eye and he asked who she was. He was told that she was the daughter of Mir Baba Dost, and he immediately claimed her and her brother as his relation. This was because Mir Baba Dost was descended from the said Ahmad of Jam, from whom Humayun was also descended through his mother Maham Begum. Next day, Humayun came again to his stepmother's and referred to the relationship between himself and Mir Baba Dost and asked her to give him the girl in marriage. Hindal, his brother, was indignant and said that he looked upon Hamida as his own sister or daughter, and that Humayun was a king and should not act in this manner. According to Jauhar, he added that he had thought that Humayun had come to Patr to do him honour and not to look out for a young bride. Humayun became angry and left the house, but the wise stepmother brought him back by means of a soft message. She was surprised, she wrote, that he had got angry over a few words, and added for his comfort that the girl's mother had already been planning the marriage. Humayun was delighted and returned to Dildar Begum's house ; and next day, according to Jauhar, the marriage was completed. Gulbadan Begum, however, who was Hamida's sister-in-law, tells the story somewhat differently. According to her, Hamida was not altogether willing to become a queen. She had been asked in marriage by some one else, and perhaps she had a partiality for this unknown suitor. At all events, when Humayun came to his stepmother's for the second time and asked her to send for Hamida, the young lady declined to come. She said she had paid her respects once and that there was no occasion for doing so again. Upon this Humayun invoked his brother and sent a messenger to him to ask him to send the lady. Hindal replied that it was of no use as she would not come, whatever he said, and told the messenger to go himself and ask her. The messenger went, but the only answer he got from



Emperor Humayun

Hamida was that it was right and proper to visit kings once, but unbecoming (*na mahsam*) to do so twice. When her words were reported to Humayun, he, like another Gregory the Great, played upon the double meaning of *na mahsam* which means both 'unlawful' and also 'the being, a stranger or outsider, who is not admitted to the inner apartments' and said : "If she be an outsider (*na mahsam*) we will make her an intimate (*mahsam*)," meaning, of course, that he would marry her. Hamida, however, still held out and the negotiation was protracted for forty days. Dildar was astonished at the girl's perversity and said to her : "You will have to marry some day, when will you get a better husband than a king?" Hamida retorted : "To be sure, I'll marry somebody, but it will be some one whose collar my hand can touch, and not one the lapel of whose skirt my hand cannot reach." Probably this was spoken allegorically, but it may also be that the girl was referring to Humayun's commanding stature, for his pictures represent him as tall. Her opposition, however, was at last overcome and she was married to Humayun in September, 1541, at Patr. Thirteen months afterwards she gave birth to Akbar. Gulbadan Begum's account of the message is interesting, and it ought to be correct, for though she was not, I think, in Patr at the time, she was a great friend of Hamida and must have got the accounts from her. It differs, however, from Jauhar's narrative in the matter of the length of the courtship,* and it differs from Nizam-uddin's account in the more important point of the name of Hamida's father. Gulbadan, as we have seen, says that Hamida's father was Mir Baba Dost and this statement seems to be corroborated by Jauhar's mentioning that Hamida was the daughter of Hindal's preceptor (*akhund*) and by the fact that there was a Baba Dost among Hindal's servants who is called *Mawlana* i.e. a teacher or learned man. He acted as Hindal's *sadr* i.e. chancellor or ecclesiastical judge and we are told that Hindal had a special regard for him. It was also a Mir Baba Dost who brought in Hindal's dead body when he was slain in a night attack of the Afghans. On the other hand, though Nizam-uddin does not in so many words mention the name of Hamida Banu's father, yet he calls the father of her brother, Khwaja Muazzam, Ali Akbar Jami i.e. Ali Akbar of Jam.† Nizam-uddin is not likely to be mistaken, for he is a careful

* In her Memoirs, Gulbadan Begum speaks of having in November, 1545, (Ramzan 952) seen Humayun again after an absence of five years. This implies that she went off with Kamran when he separated from Humayun in November, 1540. This would naturally occur as her husband, Khizr Khwaja, was then in Kamran's service.

† *Elliot*, V. 291.

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writer, and it appears also that he had good means of knowledge as his grand-father was Hamida's agent (*diwan*). Abul Fazl calls Khwaja Muazzam the uterine or half-brother of Hamida and this helps to explain the discrepancy. Moreover, one would be glad of any explanation which would make Hamida less closely connected with such a ruffian as Khwaja Muazzam. But still the matter is not quite clear. If Ali Akbar was a different man from Mir Baba Dost then he must have been the first husband of Hamida's mother, for Mir Baba Dost, as we have seen, lived up to the time of Hindal's death, and Khwaja Muazzam must have been older than Hamida, whereas in Gulbadan Begum's Memoirs he seems to call her his elder sister. Also both Mir Baba and Ali Akbar must have been descended from Ahmad Jam. Curiously enough there was an Ali Akbar who was in Hindal's service and who certainly was different from Mir Baba Dost. This was Sani Khan, whose proper name according to Badayuni (III. 206) was Ali Akbar. But I do not think he could have been Hamida's father, for he was of Herat, not of Jam, and if he had been her father, Badayuni would surely have mentioned the fact. A possible explanation of the discrepancy between Gulbadan Begum and Nizam-uddin is that Ali Akbar was a name given to Mir-ur-Mantaza Baba Dost to distinguish him from another Baba Dost who was also in Hindal's service, and who is said to have been a person of bad character.

Hamida's ancestor Ahmad Jam was, according to the biography written by his descendant, Dara Shikoh, the ill-fated great-grandson of Akbar, born at Namaq, a dependency of Jam in Persia in 1049 A.D. and died in 1141. He was originally an ignorant (*ummi*) man and was converted in his twenty-second year. He spent eighteen years in retirement and asceticism, and then became a religious teacher. He is credited with having converted 300,000 persons. He had 42 children, 39 sons and 3 daughters, and 17 of his children survived him. He was a *Shaik-al-Islam* and a very famous saint and is commonly spoken of by the title of the *Zhinde Pil* i.e. Premier Elephant. He is buried at Tusvat-i-Jam, a place between Herat and Meshhed, and it appears from a note by Mr. Ney Elias in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for 1897 that Humayun visited his ancestor's tomb and left an inscription imploring his assistance. This was in December, 1544, at a time when he was an exile in Persia, or as the inscription has it :

"A wanderer in the desert of destitution."

Though Hamida's beauty and grace may sufficiently explain

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Humayun's eagerness to marry her, it may very well have been that he saw in her the fulfilment of a vision which he had had in Lahore a year previously. Both Abul Fazl and Gulbadan Begum tell us of this vision though the account given by the latter is the most picturesque. According to it, one night when he was at Lahore, and in great distress on account of the victories of Sher Shah, Humayun had a vision in which he beheld a venerable old man, clothed in the green garments of paradise and with a staff in his hand, approach his bed side. Humayun was startled, but the visitor announced himself as Ahmad Jam, and bade him be of good cheer for he would marry a lady of his lineage and have by her a son whom he must call *Jalalu-u-din Mahommed Akbar*.

Concerning Hamida Begum herself we do not know much. Her hardships began early, and she had a very rough time while following her husband into Rajputana and in traversing the burning desert of Scinde. It was after this journey that she found repose at Umarkote, on the borders of the desert and then, and in the absence of her husband, she gave birth to Akbar. The spot is still pointed out and lies at the distance of about a mile from the modern fort.* She also accompanied Humayun in his journey to Afghanistan and his flight into Persia. She knew that she was always treated with great respect by her son who, it is said, only once refused a request of hers and this was when she, at the instigation of some bigoted Mahomedans, asked him to insult the Christian religion by tying the Holy Bible round the neck of a dog. She had several children, but she lived to see her grandchildren and great grandchildren, and died in September, 1604, when she was probably seventy seven years of age.

She was buried beside her husband in the majestic tomb near Delhi. Hamida Banu received the title of *Mariam Makani*, that is "of the household of Mary," during her lifetime and she was also

* It would seem from the local tradition that Akbar was born outside of the fort, as a Hindu could not receive a Mahomedan lady into his inner apartments and Jauhar's reference to Humayun's being in a tent seems to imply that he was outside the fort. But it may be that the old fort stood where the Akbar memorial now stands, for Mr. Mandlish stated in a paper read before Bombay Asiatic Society on 8th March, 1855, that the old fort was destroyed in 1746. In the *Tarkhan Nama*, (*Elliot*, I. 318) it is stated that the Rajah, who is there called Dair Sal, cleared the fort of its occupants and assigned it to the use of the Emperor. According to the *Beg-Lar-Nama* (*Elliot*, I. 290) a Mahomedan named Amir Shah Qasim came to Scinde in the time of Shah Husain and married the niece of the Rana of Umarkote; so the latter could hardly have been a bigoted Hindu. After Akbar was born, his first clothes were made out of the garments of the Shaikh-al-Islam, Sayed Ali Sherazi. The story is told in Noer's *Akbar* (English Translation, I. 54) but incorrectly for the Sayid, who went to Mecca with Shah Husain's body in 965 or so and is confounded with Shaikh Ali the soldier who was killed in 949 (1542) before Humayun left Scinde. See *Elliot*, I. 318.

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known as *Bilgis Makani* i.e. "of the household of Bilgis," which is a name of the Queen Sheba. She also received from Humayun the name of Chilu Begum because she had accompanied him in his journey through the desert of Baluchistan. In a manuscript collection of letters in the British Museum there are three by a lady named Bilgis Makini Miriam Begum, and it is just possible, though not probable, that these were written by Hamida when she was in Persia with her husband. If so, they show that she had a considerable knowledge of Persian. Their contents are not interesting, except that they give the names of a mother and a sister.

Abul Fazl has many apocryphal stories to tell of portents which preceeded Akbar's birth and of the precocity of his intelligence. Among these he tells of how Hamida's brow shone from a hidden light before his birth, and how the astrologer's horoscope of the new babe was so brilliant that Humayun, who was a connoisseur in such matters, danced on perusing it. He also tells us how Akbar, like Zoroaster, instead of weeping, smiled when he was born and how, like the Messiah, he spoke in his cradle and comforted his nurse, Jiji Anaga, when she was disheartened by the intrigues of Maham Anaga and other nurses who alleged that she practised magic in order to make the infant Akbar refuse all milk but hers. Akbar himself maintained that he could remember an incident which occurred to him when he was fifteen months old. He did not accompany his parents to Persia, but remained with his uncles at Qandahar and Kabul, and he did not return to India, the land of his birth, till the end of 1554. If during his absence from his parents he was sometimes cruelly dealt with by his uncle Kamran, he was always lovingly tendered by his aunts and his nurses. Suttanar, the wife of his uncle Ashani, Muhterima, the wife of Kamran, and Haji Begum, his step-mother, were among those who took care of him. When he was 2½ years old he was put into the charge of his grand-aunt, Khanozeda Begum, the elder sister of his grandfather Babar, and we are told by Gulbadan Begum that the old lady was very fond of him and used to kiss his hands and feet and say : "They are the very hands and feet of my brother, the Emperor Babar, and he is like him altogether." During the latter part of his stay in Afghanistan he seems to have spent more of his time in pigeon-flying and in hunting. When he was about ten years of age, his father assigned to him the district of Charkh for his maintenance, and later on Ghazni was added to his charge. When his uncle Hindal was killed in a night attack by the Afghans, Akbar succeeded to his estates and his establishment of servants, and it is in the list of the latter that the name of Mautana

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Baba Dost appears. This was also probably about this time that he was betrothed or married to Hindal's daughter, Ruqaiyah. She was his first wife and long survived him, not dying till 1626 when she was eighty four years of age. When her father was killed in November, 1551, she was apparently about a year younger than Akbar. She was buried beside her father in Kabul. Bayazad Biyat tells us a characteristic story of Humayun and his courtiers in connection with the death of Hindal. Though not so fond of Hindal as of Kamran, Humayun was affectionately inclined to all his kinsfolk, and when he heard of Hindal's having been killed while fighting on his behalf, he was deeply grieved and burst into tears. Munim Khan, one of his generals, was however, made of sterner stuff and cynically observed to Humayun that he was weeping for his own good fortune, as he had now one enemy the less. And in truth Hindal's conduct in India in rebelling against his brother and killing his envoy was such as no one but Humayun would have forgiven.

On the whole, it appears that Akbar was fortunate both in his father and mother. Humayun was not a very wise man, and was weak of will, but he was cultivated and humane, and he was of an illustrious lineage. He was killed by a fall on the steps of his library at Delhi in January, 1556, when Akbar was not yet fourteen years of age. In after years he expressed to Abul Fazl his regret that his father died so early and that he had no opportunity of showing him faithful service.

Akbar was in the Punjab when his father died, and he was immediately crowned there in the town of Kalanur by his guardian, the famous Bairam Khan. At that time his affairs were in a somewhat desperate state and some timid counsellors suggested that he should retreat to Kabul. Delhi was in the hands of Hemu, the daring Hindu general of Mahommed Adali, and other claimants to the throne of India were raising their heads. Little belonged to the Moghuls beyond their camping-ground. But Bairam, the old comrade in arms of Babar and Humayun, was equal to the occasion. His first act was to punish cowardice and disaffection by putting to death Tardi Beg, an old Chaghatai leader, who seems never to have done good service. The execution excited much anger among the Chaghatai chiefs and materially contributed to Bairam's subsequent disgrace, but in the opinion of Firishta it was justifiable and even necessary. Bairam took the responsibility of the act when Akbar was away hunting, and, when the young king returned, he ingenuously excused himself by saying that he had not waited for Akbar's

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sanction lest his gentleness should prevent what was an act of necessary severity. The battle with Hemu was fought at Panipat,—the Armageddon of India,—on the 5th of November, 1556, and ended in Hemu's defeat and capture. It appears from the *Akbarnama* and still more clearly from the *Nafaisu-l-Masir* that Akbar and Bairam were not present when the battle was fought. They only came up when Hemu had been captured and all was over. When Hemu was brought in wounded, Bairam urged Akbar to gain the glory of being a *Ghazi* (a religious warrior) by fleshing his maiden sword on an infidel. But the generous boy refused to strike one who was wounded and was a prisoner, and Bairam slew Hemu with his own hand. The incident recalls the story of Gideon telling his son Jether to kill the two princes of Midniam. "But the youth drew not his sword ; for he feared, because he *was* yet a youth. Then Zebah and Zalmunna said : Rise thou and fall upon us ; for as the man *is*, so *is* his strength."

After the victory of Panipat, Akbar had to subdue Sikandar Sur. Sikandar was a nephew of Sher Shah, and had in the previous year been defeated by Humayun at Sirhind. He had recovered himself and had succeeded in defeating Khizr Khwajah, the husband of Gulbadan Begum. He now retreated before Akbar and Bairam and took refuge in Mankot, a strong fort in the Siwaliks. Akbar pursued him there and invested the fort. The siege lasted for several months and, during its continuance, Akbar had the pleasure of relieving his mother and the other ladies who had stayed in Kabul when Humayun started on his expedition to India. At length (May, 1557) Sikandar capitulated and accepted a post in Bengal where he not long afterwards died.

It was during this siege that Akbar contracted what seems to have been his second marriage. This was with a daughter of Abdullah Khan Moghul, a brother-in-law of Kamran. It seems that Akbar asserted himself on this occasion, for he carried through the marriage in spite of the objections of his guardian who disliked the Kamran connection. Akbar left Mankot for Lahore in July, 1557, and some months afterwards he celebrated at Jalandhar the marriage of Bairam with Salima Suttan Begum. This was in accordance with a promise made by Akbar's father to Bairam. Salima was Humayun's niece, being the daughter of his half-sister, Gulbarg Begum. She was famous for her wit and beauty and became the wife of Akbar after the assassination of her first husband. It would appear that at this time there was no quarrel between Maham Anaga and Bairam, for the former did his ut-

most to promote this marriage, and as it was made in fulfilment of a promise by Humayun it is not likely that the Chaghatai nobles were much opposed to it. It was not till more than two years after the marriage, viz. in March, 1560, that Akbar openly broke with his guardian. The rupture was perhaps inevitable. Akbar was now seventeen years of age, and was beginning to feel himself able to be his own master. Bairam seems to have been an ill-tempered man and to have held the reins too tightly. His dismissal was a disaster for the country. Akbar was too young and inexperienced, and too fond of pleasure to rule, and the way of an intriguing woman like Maham Anaga and of her ruffian of a son, Adham Khan, was a poor exchange for the control of a great statesman like Bairam. As Badayuni says: "During the time of the influence of Maham Anaga, the Begum (Hamida ?) and Itimad Khan, the chief eunuch, were leading spirits. Mir Abdu-l-Hai aptly quoted the tradition which tells how a time will come when none will become favourites but profligates, and none be thought witty but the obscene, and none thought weak but the just ; when they shall account the alms a heavy imposition, and the bond of relationship a reproach, and the service of God shall be weariness unto them, and then the government shall be by the counsel of women, and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs." The translation is by Mr. Lowe, and he has appositely referred to a corresponding verse in Isaiah (III. 4). Maham Anaga, who was now the ruling spirit, was a remarkable woman but she seems to have been thoroughly cruel and unscrupulous and to have made the advancement of her second son, Adham Khan, her chief aim in life. In order to screen him from the just wrath of Akbar she did not hesitate to put two innocent girls to death. There is a mystery about her origin and about the paternity of her children. Maham Anaga seems to be a title and not her real name, and to have been given to her because she was the chief nurse. It seems doubtful, however, if she actually nursed Akbar. She is not clearly mentioned in Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's nurses, and unless she had a younger child than Adham she can hardly have nursed Akbar. For Adham is described in the *Akbarnama* as having distinguished himself at the siege of Mankot and as having overthrown several warriors. But if he was nearly the same age with his foster-brother, Akbar, he could not have been more than fifteen or sixteen at this time. Judging by a remark of Maham Anaga to Askari, it appears that she was a Turk by race and it is probable that she was of good family and perhaps she was related to Hamida Banu. No contemporary writer mentions her husband's name but a manuscript, in the

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possession of Colonel Hanna* and which seems to give the statements of a great grandson of Akbar's nurse Jiji Anaga, calls her the wife of Nadim Koka. Nadim was a well-known officer of Akbar's court and may very well have been Maham Anaga's husband, but this does not exclude the theory of Mr. Blochmann that Adham was a royal bastard, for the Moghul kings had a way of bestowing their cast-off mistresses on their courtiers.

Akbar broke away from Bairam under the pretext of going on a hunting party. He crossed the Jumna and went towards Alighar. Possibly he had not then made up his mind to discard his guardian. He had been displeased with him† on account of some tyrannical acts, and especially because Bairam had put to death one of Akbar's *mahouts*‡ whom he had sent to him with the idea that Bairam would forgive his imaginary offence.

But perhaps Akbar would have returned to Bairam if Maham Anaga had not interfered*and threatened to retire to Mecca if she were not protected against Bairam. The result was that Akbar wrote a letter of dismissal to Bairam. That statesman was growing old and it was perhaps time that he should retire, but the occasion must have been a sorrowful one both for him and for Akbar. It must also be conceded that Akbar behaved kindly and liberally to Bairam and that, in this respect, his conduct contrasts favourably with the behaviour of Charles V. to Cardinal Ximenes and of Henry VIII. to Wolsey. Akbar also showed a magnanimity rare in a young Eastern King when he pardoned Bairam Khan, for there can be no doubt that Bairam made war on his sovereign and was fully liable to the punishment for high treason. His intention to rebel is shown by his letter to Dervish Muhammad, an extract from which is given in Shamsu-d-din's petition to Akbar. This says that he is the King's slave, but that he intends to revenge

* See R. A. S. J. for 1899.

† In the *Akbarnama*, II. p. 106, there is a long State-paper (*firman*) in which Akbar recounts the offences of Bairam Khan and states how he had proceeded from Agra to Delhi and had written a letter of dismissal to him. The paper shows considerable bitterness and evidently has been drawn up by Bairam's enemies. It dwells on Bairam's appointing Sheikh Gadal to the high office of Sadr, speaks of his cruelty to old servants without naming Tardi Beg and dwells upon Bairam's remissness in not punishing insults offered to his prince. It accuses him of gross favouritism, but one of the instances is rather unfortunate. It says that Bairam unduly elevated his sister's son, Husain Quli, *who had never even fought with a fowl*. But this is the Husain Quli who afterwards became Khan Jahan and conquered Bengal for Akbar. As Blochmann well remarks the fact that twenty-five of Bairam's friends reached the dignity of a *Panch-hazari*, i.e. of an office of the rank of 5,000 is rather a proof of Bairam's gift of selecting proper men than an indication of favouritism. They did not get their rank while he remained in power.

‡ A driver of an Elephant.

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himself on his advisers.* Akbar had no share in the assassination of Bairam which took place in Gujrat shortly after his retirement and when on his way to Mecca. It was the result of private vengeance on the part of an Afghan who considered that Bairam had slain his father. Nor did Akbar show any rancour against Bairam's family. On the contrary, he cherished his young son and gradually raised him to high office.

The influence of Maham Anaga and her son Adham did not last long. For a time the wicked and incompetent Bahadur, brother of the Khan Zamir, was made Prime Minister but, according to Abul Fazl, Maham Anaga was the real minister. Akbar came to see their baseness and took as his chief officer Shamsu-d-din, an old servant of his father's and the husband of his favourite nurse. Shamsu-d-din had no claim to the ability or culture of Bairam, but he was at least an honest and simple-minded soldier. He had also borne the heat and burden of the day and had succeeded in defeating Bairam Khan in a pitched battle. In the second volume of the *Akbarnama* (p. 119) there is a curious petition from him in which he sets forth his services and alludes to the intrigues of Maham Anaga whom he calls by the name of Walida "Mother." It was probably in consequence of this petition that Shamsu-d-din was made Prime Minister. This appointment gave great offence to Adham Khan and to Munim Khan and led to his assassination.

It was about this time, according to the gossiping Badayuni, that Akbar had the idea of connecting himself by marriage with the Delhi nobles and sent brokers and eunuchs to make enquiries about suitable brides. A great terror, says Badayuni, fell upon the city, and with some reason, for Akbar did not confine his attentions to unmarried girls. He fell in love with a married woman and exercised what is said to have been a Moghul law viz. that if the sovereign desires another man's wife, the husband is bound to give her up i. e. he must divorce her. In this case, the lady was the wife of one Abdu-l-Wasi, and Akbar saw her at the house of a connection of hers who was the wife of Bagik, the elder brother of Adham Khan. Later in life, Akbar took a mystical view of his position as king and said: "Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children."

The rule of Shamsu-d-din and the intrigues of Maham Anaga

* See also the letter addressed to him (*Akbarnama*, II. 98.)

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and her son Adham did not last long. One night in May, 1562, Adham Khan rushed with some followers into the room in the Palace where Shamsu-d-din was sitting with some other officers and killed him. Adham then ran towards the inner apartments. Akbar was awakened by the uproar, and coming out and learning what had occurred, he knocked Adham down and then had him thrown over the banisters. Towards Adham, Akbar used an expression (son of a bitch) which perhaps referred to his bastardy. Adham's death was followed within forty days by that of his doting mother, and Akbar, mindful of her former kindnesses and fidelity, gave her an honourable funeral. Apparently, it was either shortly before or after this event that there occurred what Abul Fazl calls "the battle of Paroukh" in which Akbar distinguished himself by his activity and daring.

The young prince—he was then only twenty years of age—seems to have felt himself as still unable to rule alone, for he was fain to take the help of Munim Khan and Shihabu-d-din who had been privy to Shamsu-d-din's murder and had made no attempt to prevent it. Their fears led them to take flight, but they were brought back and pardoned. Another leading man, Sharafu-d-din Hussain, was less fortunate or more timorous. Though he was Akbar's brother-in-law, being married to his elder and half-sister, Bakshi Banu, he, for some unexplained reason, fled from Akbar's court and ended his days in rebellion. Apparently he left a slave behind him for the purpose of assassinating Akbar, and this man shot at the prince as he was returning through the streets of Delhi after paying a visit to a saint's tomb. The arrow entered Akbar's shoulder, but the wound soon healed. The courtiers wanted to examine the would-be assassin, but Akbar, wisely perhaps, ordered that he should be slain at once lest his statements should bring suspicion on others. According to Badayuni, this attempt had some connection with Akbar's schemes for allying himself by marriage with noble families in Delhi, and it led to their discontinuance.* Not long after this, Akbar was again in danger from his maternal uncle, Khwajah Muazzam. He was a notoriously bad character and had committed at least one murder and had also been guilty of treason. His connection with the royal family had saved him from

* If Sharafu-d-din had really instigated the assassination of Akbar, we are not surprised that when Sharafu-d-din was captured Akbar put him in prison and declined to release him. Khwajah Abdu-l Shahid, as a member of his family, naturally tried to obtain his release but his indignation at Akbar's refusal was a little unreasonable. See Badayuni (Lowe, 187). Can Sharafu-d-din's flight have been in any way connected with Akbar's marriage with Bihari Mal's daughter? Sharafu-d-din had behaved badly to Bihari Mal and he may have feared the influence of his daughter with Akbar.

punishment. We hear much of the cruelties of the Eastern monarchs, and no doubt they have often been very horrible, but their leniencies are just as conspicuous and have perhaps done equal mischief. Much suffering to the people would have been prevented if Humayun had dealt sternly with Hindal when he murdered S. Bahtul, and if earlier he had given Kamran his deserts, instead of pardoning him and bestowing upon him an appanage. So also it would have been better if Akbar had allowed Bairam to put Abu-l-Mali to death as he proposed instead of preserving him and giving him scope for further outrages, and if he had not previously spared Khwajah Muazzam. It might also have been well had Sharafu-d-din been really trampled under an elephant after what seems to have been his attempt to have Akbar assassinated. Akbar's character for justice would have also stood higher had he executed due punishment on his son Selim (Jahangir) for the murder of Abul Fazl. Khwajah Muazzam had for his wife one Zahra Agha—Lady Venus—and from jealousy or other cause he treated her with great cruelty. Her mother, Bibi Fatima, had held the office of Urdu Begi or Mistress of the Harem under Humayun and is mentioned in Gulbadan Begum's Memoirs. She was also greatly regarded by Akbar. Her daughter was now living in Agra but on the other side of the Jumna in the Khwajah's house, but Fatima came to know that her husband was about to carry her off to his *jagir* (country-estate), in order that he might wreak his vengeance upon her more easily than in the vicinity of the Emperor. Fatima told her fears to Akbar and he comforted her, saying that he was going a-hunting and would take the opportunity of passing by the Khwajah's house and would counsel him not to carry off her daughter into the country. Accordingly, Akbar crossed the Jumna with a few followers and proceeded towards the Khwajah's house. He had some twenty men with him and he sent two of them ahead to the Khwajah's house to warn him of his approach and to cause him to come out to the high road to meet him. When the Khwajah heard of the arrival of the messengers he became furious and declared that he would not wait upon His Majesty. He then went straight to the inner apartments, found his poor wife attiring herself in her dressing-room after her bath, and drew her dagger and killed her. He then put his head out of a window and flung the bloody dagger at the feet of Dastam Khan, one of Akbar's servants who had followed up the first two messengers, and cried out "I've killed her ; go and tell the news." Dastam lifted up the dagger and took it to Akbar who hurriedly advanced into the house. There the Khwajah stood before him with his hand on

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his sword and in an attitude to strike. Akbar sternly said to him : " If you make a single movement I'll strike you such a blow on the head as will send your soul flying." The Khwajah subsided at this, but one of his Gujrati servants showed signs of fighting. Akbar signed to one of his men to strike him, and drawing his sword, he shore off the head of the Gujrati at one blow and left the body standing for a moment, spouting blood. Akbar now asked the Khwajah why he had killed his innocent wife. The latter replied by abuse and wild language. He was seized and beaten and by Akbar's orders was ducked in the Jumna. He did not drown, and was afterwards sent to Gwalior where he was confined and where he eventually died mad. Apparently he died shortly afterwards, for the author of the *Nafaisu-l Masir* puts his death in 971.* Curiously enough, black-guard as he was, Khwajah Muazzam was a poet or at least a maker of verses and is included among the poets in Badayuni's biographies.

These two things—the prompt punishment of Adham Khan and of Khwajah Muazzam—are among the greatest of Akbar's feats and show that he had heroic instincts. Bayazid Biyat, an old servant of Akbar and of his father, tells us in his Memoirs that sometime after this, Akbar had a conversation with his new Prime Minister, Munim Khan. Akbar asked him what people thought of his rule. Munim replied that the people loved him and admired his consummate justice in putting to death Adham Khan and Khwajah Muazzam. Akbar replied : " I have done something better than those things ; it is strange that you don't mention it, but you know it all the same, though from certain considerations you don't refer to it." "What thing is it," said Munim, "that I know of and do not refer to?" Akbar replied : " What I have done better is that I have brought all the Atka's relations from Lahore, and have scattered them like the "Daughters of the Bier" and given them fiefs all over Hindustan."† The "Daughters of the Bier" is the Arabic name for the constellation of the Plough (Ursa Major) and the allusion is to the stars which compose it, lying apart from one another, instead of being clustered together like the Pleiades (Al surarya). Akbar probably meant that by distributing the Atka clan over India he had diminished its power, and also had provided maintenance for the connections of his former Prime Minister, Shamsu-d-din. Munim, he thought, did not refer to this because he was an enemy and had been concerned with Adham in the assassination of Shamsu-d-din.

* See Spurger's Catalogue, p. 53.

† Cf. Lowe's Badayuni, p. 190. The conversation must have taken place after the Muazzam incident, for Badayuni says the removal of the Atkah clan from the Punjab took place in 976 (1568).

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The next event in Abar's career was the rebellion of the two brothers, Ali Quli and Bahadur. They were Uzbegs and so were in a manner hereditary enemies of Akbar's house. Akbar disliked the clan, partly perhaps on this account, and also because he abhorred* paiderasty which was the national vice of the Uzbegs and other inhabitants of Transoniana. Nothing is more honourable to Akbar than the resolute way in which he set his face against this vice, which was only too common in his court, and from which his grandfather and father were not free. Ali Quli and Bahadur were the sons of one Haider Suttan who had joined Humayun in Persia and fought bravely for him in Afghanistan. He died of the plague and Humayun took charge of his sons. Ali Quli was a general of great ability and contributed largely to Akbar's early successes, but both he and his brother were ungovernable persons and they raised a rebellion in Jaunpur. They were vanquished by the young king's energy and daring.

Hitherto Akbar's wars had been justified by the law of self-preservation and the right to recover his ancestral kingdom, but in the twelfth year of his reign he undertook an expedition of a more questionable character and which could not have been inspired except by the lust of conquest. This was his march against Chitore, the ruler of which had done nothing to offend him beyond omitting to acknowledge his suzerainty. Other Rajput princes had done homage and in 1562 and in the sixth year of the reign Akbar had married the daughter of the Rajah of Amber or Jaipur. She it was who afterwards became the mother of Jahangir. But Udai Singh of Chitore had remained aloof, though his subsequent behaviour shows that this could not have been the result of genuine high spirit. Akbar probably saw in his recusancy the feelings which had animated the great Rana Sanga to oppose Babar and resolved to subjugate him. It seems a pity that he could not have left the enterprise alone and thus have spared himself the guilt of much bloodshed. But we can hardly blame the young man for not being in advance of his contemporaries, and doubtless all his Mahommedan subjects regarded a war against an infidel as a holy undertaking. The siege lasted for several months and was prosecuted with great energy and skill by the besiegers. Chitore fell in February, 1568, and as Tod says : "thirty thousand of its inhabitants became victims to the ambitious thirst of conquest of this 'guardian of mankind.'" Abul Fazl's excuse for the general massacre at Chitore is that the inhabitants had

* See his treatment of Badayuni's friend, Jatal Khan Qurci (*Akbarnama*, II, 271).

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taken part in the defence of the city ! When Alau-d-din took Chitore in the beginning of the 14th century, they had not done so and so they were spared !

The only pleasing feature in the story is the clever escape of about one thousand musketeers with their families and goods. Akbar had been especially indignant with them on account of the losses they had inflicted on his men, but when they were sought for after the victory, they could nowhere be found. The fact is that they had escaped by passing themselves off as belonging to the besieging army. They gathered up their goods and bound their women and children and drove them before them. The Moghuls thought they were camp-followers who were carrying off their plunder and allowed them to pass through.

When Akbar had conquered and sacked Chitore he made a pilgrimage* chiefly on foot to the shrine of Mainu-d-din Chisti at Ajmere. He had meant to go the whole way, over one hundred miles, on foot ; but the courtiers or the saint's descendants were anxious about Akbar's health and comfort, as it was the beginning of the hot weather. So when he had walked as far as Mandalgarh—*i.e.*, about 35 miles—a message was brought to him that the saint had appeared to his followers in a dream and bidden them to persuade the king against continuing his journey in such a painful manner. Akbar obeyed the message and performed the rest of the pilgrimage on horseback till he came to the last stage when he again went on foot. When we think of the massacre of nearly 40,000 human beings which had just been perpetrated by Akbar's orders, we cannot admire such piety as this. If Akbar was indeed restrained by feelings of humanity from slaying Hemu, how changed was he now from the gentle boy of the field of Panipat !

After the conquest of Chitore, Akbar was occupied for sometime with the reduction of the fortresses of Ranthambhur. Afterwards Kalinjar surrendered without a contest. The years 1569 and '70 were signalised by the birth of two sons, Salim afterwards Jahangir and Murad. But on the whole, the years, from the 12th to the 17th, were uneventful. These five years were years of comparative peace.

Akbar's next enterprise was the conquest of Gujrat. It would be pedantic to blame him for this—almost as pedantic as it is in Robertson to blame Murray for speaking harshly to his sister,

* Compare Gibbon's account (Chap. 58) of the Procession of the Crusaders to the Holy Sepulchre after a three days' massacre in which some 70,000 Mahomedans were put to the sword and a number of Jews were burnt in their synagogues.

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Queen Mary—for Gujrat had been conquered by his father, and he probably thought it a filial duty to recover what his father had afterwards lost. But it is more than doubtful if Akbar's conquest of the country was a boon to the Gujratis or to the world at large. The Gujratis were attached to their native kings, and for many long years clung to Mozaffar, the last scion of the race. The pretence that Akbar interfered in order to save the people from oppression is altogether hollow. He interfered because the distracted state of parties in Gujrat induced him to think that his interference would be successful. A discontented statesman—Itimad Khan—who had once solemnly sworn on the Quoran that Nathu, otherwise Mozaffar, was the genuine son of the last sovereign, now turned round and asserted that he was supposititious, simply because the boy had left him and joined another faction ! Akbar displayed great energy and courage in his Gujrat campaigns, and reaped much renown and popularity. On this occasion he also made his first acquaintance with the sea and with the Portuguese of Goa.

Akbar's next exploit was the conquest of Bihar and Bengal. Here too he had the excuse that he was only recovering what had belonged to his father, and what former dynasties of Delhi kings had claimed as part of their dominions. At this time Bihar, Bengal and Orissa were in the hands of the Afghans. Sulaiman Karaini, a wise and efficient ruler, had now governed Bihar and Bengal for several years and in 1568 he had added Orissa to his dominions. He and his elder brother Taj Khan had originally been in the service of Sher Shah and his son Selim, Taj Khan holding Bengal and Sulaiman Bihar. When Taj Khan died Sulaiman succeeded to his province. Originally he had fixed his capital at Tanda, not far from Gaur, but afterwards he and his son Daud seem to have lived chiefly at Patna. On Sulaiman's death in October, 1572, Bayazed, his elder son, succeeded him, but he was soon put to death and was succeeded by his younger brother, Daud. Sulaiman was a politic ruler and, as Abul Fazl says, though disloyal at heart yet for a time he read the Khutbah in the name of His Majesty. The *Tabaqat Akbari* also states that Sulaiman did not have the Khutbah recited in his own name, and that he styled himself Hazrat Auli, "His Sublime Presence." This was a name afterwards given by writers to Shan Jahan. Whether Sulaiman actually had coins struck in Akbar's name seems doubtful. But he was an old servant of kings and knew how to please them. His son Daud (David) was young and rash, and never had borne the joke. He disdained to pay respect to Akbar, and apparently thought that he might recover the empire of Sher Shah. But the latter was a man

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of genius, and also had the good fortune not to be born in the purple chamber !

Akbar came in person to Patna, took it, and pursued Daud and his defeated troops as far as Daryapur, some fifty miles east of Patna. This was the furthest distance that Akbar penetrated in this direction, and he never beheld the great rivers and the wide plains of Bengal Proper. His father had gone as far eastward as Gaur and had lived there for months.

Patna was taken on the 21st *Rabi-us-sani*, 982, corresponding to the 9th August, 1574. The event was commemorated by the chronogram

Mulk Sulaiman z Daud raft

which means that "Sulaiman's kingdom passed from Daud" or in rhyme

"From David's hand
Passed Solomon's land"

But the numerical value of the line is 983, which is one too many. It is also not quite correct to say that the taking of Patna ended the war ; for that was not concluded till two years later when Daud was defeated by the Khan Jahan at Rajmahal and put to death on the 12th July, 1576, or the 15th *Rabi-us-sani*, 984. A more exact chronogram of the taking of Patna is given by Badayuni as having been presented to Akbar (*Fathi-bilad-i-Patnah* the conquest of Patna city). This gives 982.*

After the taking of Patna, Akbar returned to upper India and the campaign against the Afghans was continued by his general Munim Khan. He took the city of Tanda—the Afghan capital—and made a treaty with Daud whereby the latter relinquished Bengal but retained Orissa. Daud, however, renewed the war on the death of Munim at Tanda on October, 1575, alleging that his treaty had been made with Munim and was terminated by his death. He was defeated and slain, as we have already seen, in July, 1576, but Afghan chiefs still continued to offer opposition in Bengal and Orissa, and it was not till the reign of Jahangir that they were finally suppressed. Husain Quli, the sister's son of Bairam and the conqueror of Daud, is generally known by his title of Khan Jahan. He died near Tanda in December, 1578, and was succeeded by Mozaffar Tarbati. Mozaffar was like Husain Quli, a protege of Bairam, and was chiefly known as a financier, though he did excellent service as a soldier in Bihar. He was harsh and avaricious and wanting in tact, and his strictness in collecting the revenue contributed to the great mutiny among the

* Lowe's Translation, p. 183.

Bengal officers. But there were many causes for the outbreak, and there is no doubt that Akbar's desire to increase his revenue and also his religious innovations caused much discontent and were influential in bringing about the revolt. In the *Akbarnama*, Abul Fazl enumerates nine reasons for the outbreak. He also prefaces this list by the statement that Bengal, "owing to its climate's fostering the base," was always a 'Debateable Land' and had on this account received in old times the name of "Bulghakkhana" or "House of Tumult." It should be pointed out, however, that Bihar was often included by Mahomedan writers in Bengal under the general appellation of the Eastern Districts, and that Abul Fazl was probably thinking, in part at least, of Bihar when he spoke of the factiousness of Bengal. As a matter of fact the rebellion, or mutiny, began in Jaunpur and in Bihar and spread into Eastern Bengal. Elsewhere, viz. in the *Ain*, Abul Fazl speaks approvingly of the people of Bengal Proper, saying "the people are submissive and pay their rents duly."

Though in the list of reasons for the rebellion Abul Fazl tries to screen Akbar and to throw the blame on the officers, yet he admits in his ninth and last reason that Akbar's doctrine of "Peace with All" or universal toleration was one cause of the revolt. By saying that Khwajah Mansur, the Prime Minister, and the other revenue-officers were inconsiderate and oppressive, he indirectly admits that Akbar, who was responsible for appointing them, was likewise in fault.

The revolt was brewing in 1579, but the first overt act of rebellion seems to have occurred in January, 1580, when the Qagshals and others shaved their head and crossed the Bhagirathi or old Ganges near Tanda. Apparently the shaving of the head was an act of mourning for the death of Roshan Beg who was publicly executed by Mozaffar Khan. According to Abul Fazl, Roshan Beg had been a revenue officer and had been employed in making collections from the exchequer, or, crown lands. He embezzled or was accused of embezzling and fled to Kabul. There he was taken into service by Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, who was always meditating rebellion. Had he been an abler or a more self-restrained man, he would probably have been a greater thorn in the side of Akbar. But fortunately for the latter, Muhammad Hakim was a drunkard and sank into an early grave. At this time he seems to have been inclined to pose as an orthodox Mahomedan and as a defender of the faith against Akbar the heretic. It was doubtless by his instigation that Roshan Beg came to Bengal and proceeded to stir up strife. Akbar heard of his coming and sent orders to

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Mozaffar to put him to death. Mozaffar did so, and though he was only carrying out Akbar's orders, yet Abul Fazl contrives to blame Mozaffar for the execution. Perhaps it was the public form of the execution that Abul Fazl objected to—Badayuni says Mozaffar had Roshan's head cut off in the public Hall (Divan)—and he may have thought that Mozaffar should have had Roshan taken off privately, in the way that Akbar afterwards rid himself of Masum Khan Farankhudi and the contentious Mullas !

The rebellion spread fast and Mozaffar was besieged in Tanda, and put to death after his surrender. The disturbance lasted for about two years and was finally put down by the united efforts of Todar Mal, Shahbaz Khan Kambu (who distinguished himself in Oudh) and Akbar's foster-brother, the Khan Auzim. In Eastern Bengal, however, Isa Khan, an Afghan, maintained his independence, though he occasionally professed submission to Akbar and sent him presents.

H. Beveridge

(To be continued)

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA

Three hundred years ago on the night of the 15th of October, 1605 (O. S.) died the Emperor Akbar. His body was buried at Sikandra near Agra. Meet it is that in memory of the greatest Emperor of Hindustan a few words should be said in the October number of *The Indian World* about his last resting place.

I. ITS HISTORY

Conflicting statements exist about the history of the mausoleum, its beginning and its completion. Fergusson's conclusions, however, still hold the field. Fergusson held that the tomb was begun by Akbar himself(*a*) and that the gates were erected in the first ten years of Jahangir's reign, A. D. 1605-1615.(*b*) He is followed by Mr. E. W. Smith(*c*) ; by the anonymous writer of the Introduction to Grigg's volume who gives the date of the completion of the mausoleum as 1613(*d*) by Mr. Keene(*e*) and by Mr. Havell(*f*).

(*a*) Hist. East. and Ind. Arch. (1876), p. 583.

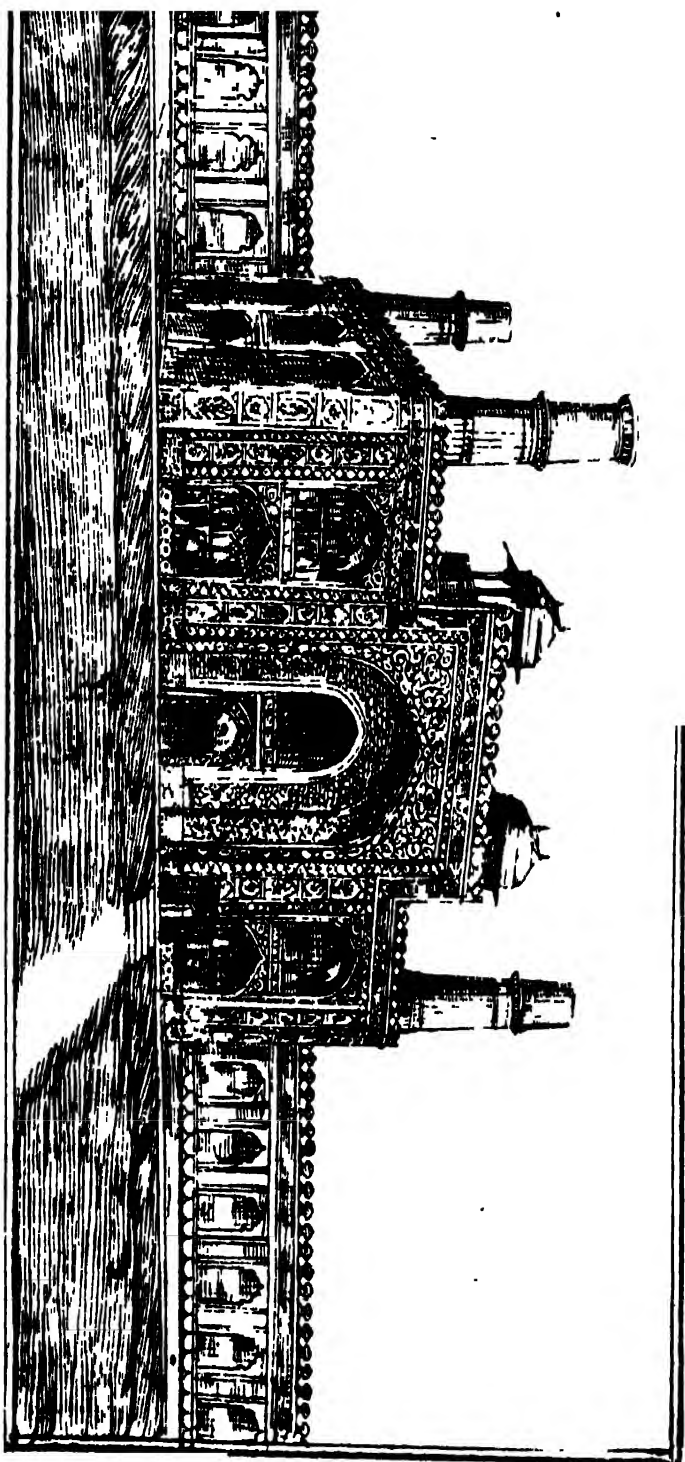
(*b*) Do p. 588, Note 1.

(*c*) Colour Decorations in Moghul Architecture (1901), pp. 2, 20.

(*d*) One Hundred Photographs and Drawings of Historical Buildings in India, (1896), p. 1.

(*e*) Handbook to Agra and its Neighbourhood (1902), p. 73.

(*f*) Agra and the Taj (1904), pp. 25, 77.



The Gateway of Sikandra

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA

On the other hand, Dr. Fuhrer was of opinion that "the tomb is erroneously spoken by Fergusson as one of Akbar's buildings. It was built by Jahangir." According to him, the building was completed in 1612(g).

For a discussion of these divergent views, I shall trouble the reader with references to a few contemporary records.

In A.D. 1611, Mr. William Finch, one of the earliest European travellers in Hindustan, visited the tomb and left a long description of it. He found the mausoleum almost as it now stands, but without the gateway of which only one was then in hand. He remarked that "nothing were finished as yet, after tenne yeares work"(h). In the same year, Captain William Hawkins gave a brief description of the sepulchre and added : "It hath beene this fourteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth"(i).

Wāki'-at-i-Jahāngīrī, or the Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir, furnishes the following account of the Emperor's visit to his father's tomb in the third year of his reign :—

"On Tuesday the 17th" (? month not given), "I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father.....When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was, that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conducts of the unfortunate Khusrú, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied 3 or 4 years. I ordered that clever architects acting in concert with some intelligent persons should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone."(j)

The English travellers derived their information about the time apparently from Bazar traditions, otherwise in the same year one

(g) Ancient Monuments in the N.W.P., Arch. Sur. Ind., New Series, Vol. II. (1899), p. 77. Cf. Keene's Handbook, p. 44.

(h) Purchas his Pilgrimes, I. IV. 440 ; reprint, Vol. IV. 75.

(i) Do, I. II. 224 ; reprint, III. 51.

(j) Elliot, *Mugh. Hist.* VI. 319-20.

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would not have given ten years, and the other fourteen years, as the period during which the building had been under construction. On the other hand *Wāki'at-i-Jahāngiri*, compiled from the private notes kept by or for the Emperor, is believed by Elliot and Dowson to be the most reliable of the several works now passed on as the Emperor's Memoirs. *Prima facie*, it is likely to contain more accurate informations on the subject. I therefore conclude that the tomb was begun not by Akbar, but by Jahangir, that the construction was originally left to the architects, Jahangir being too busy at the time ; and that after his visit in the 3rd year (A.D. 1609) he had certain alterations made on it after consulting several "clever architects." The mausoleum had been finished with one of the gateways by A.D. 1611, when Finch visited it.

The date of the completion of the building is settled by two inscriptions on the main gateway. The one on the roadside frieze says that Jahangir completed the work in the seventh year of his reign, whose *Navroz* fell on 17th Muharrum 1021H. on 12th March, 1612(β). The other on the garden-side frieze gives the year of completion as the eighth, whose *Navroz* fell on 26th Muharrum 1022H. or 8th March, 1613. The completion of the entire work should accordingly be put in A.D. 1613-4, or within eight years of its beginning.

Both Finch and Hawkins saw three thousand men working daily at the mausoleum. As is natural with Indian skilled workers, they worked leisurely. Captain Hawkins added contemptuously (contempt arising apparently of ignorance), "but thus much I will say that one of our worke-men will despatch more than three of them"(α). The majority of the workers must have been Hindus. Of the master-masons no names have yet been brought to light except that of the calligraphist, Abdul Huq Shirazi.

Mr. Keene puts the total cost of the building at fifteen lacs of rupees(β), but he does not give his authority. In the *Wāki'at-i-Jahāngiri* it is said—"The total expense of this large building was reported to me to amount 50,000 *tumans* of 'Irak and 45 lacs of *khanis* of *Turan*"(γ). The *tumans* and the *khanis* do not appear among the coins of the Mughal Emperors(δ) and are probably Turkish and Persian coins. Their equivalents are not known to me.

Captain Hawkins noted that an annual feast was held at the sepulchre on the day of Akbar's death. "Upon this day there is

(β) Do VI. 326.

(γ) Do VI. 334.

(α) Purchas his Pilgrimes, III. 51.

(β) Handbook, p. 43.

(γ) Elliot, VI. 320.

(δ) Cat. Ind. Coins in the Br. Mus., Mugh. Emp., pp. LXXI-LXXIIIV.

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA

great store of victuals dressed and much money given to the poore." According to this traveller, the original intention of Jahangir was that he with his posterity should be buried there. But Jahangir was buried at Shahdera, Lahore ; Shah Jahan in the Taj ; and Aurangzeb near the caves of Ellora.

II. ITS DESCRIPTION

I have no wish to describe the mausoleum, and for two reasons. Firstly it has been described times without number in guide-books, and by tourists and professionals. To repeat the same *ad nauseam* is not worth the song. Secondly, words can give but a faint idea of its architecture and architectural decorations. The lofty gateways (more than 70 feet high), the vast wondrous pile within, five-storied on a platform, rising pyramidally more than a hundred feet high and crowded with arches below and with terraces, kiosques and pavilions above, the bold inlaid patterns in marble on the main gateway, the beautiful fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the vestibule to the mortuary hall, the fine enamelled tiling on the outside of the kiosques of the third floor, and the exquisite marble screens of the cloister round the upper sarcophagus, pierced with intricate and highly varied geometrical patterns—all these the reader must see with his own eyes in order to realise their beauty and their meaning. He must himself pass, with awe and with reverence, to the dim vault below the mortuary hall where lies the simple marble tomb of the greatest Musalman ruler in India,—dust to dust, ashes to ashes.

The earliest description of the tomb came from Mr. William Finch in A.D. 1611. I can do no better than present the same to the reader. This description will help him in forming some faint idea of this magnificent building :

"King Acabar's sepulchre is 3 *cosse*s distant from Agra in the way to Lahore, nothing were finished as yet, after tenne yeares work. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit ; is to have four Gates (but one of which is yet in hand), each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great Prince with reasonable traine.

"In the centre of this Garden stands the Tombe foure square, about three quarters of a mile in companies. The first enclosure is with a curious rayle, to which you ascend some sixe steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweets ; adjoyning to which is the Tombe, rounded with

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this gardenet, being also foure square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, having at each corner a small beautifull Turret, arched over head and covered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the world too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the Moores and Gentiles, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelve foot higher, you ascend by staires to another Gallery (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing onely three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his wadrobe for memoriall. The third story hath but two of these middle Turret on a side : the fourth one ; the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes and a rich Bason and Ewer. Every one approaching neere makes his reverence and pass off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to bestrew his Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

"At my last sight thereof there was onely over head a rich Tent with a Semaine over the Tombe. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speekled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure street-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also enclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, and the ground underfoot paved with the like—There are in continuall worke about this and other buildings about it, the Moholl and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarrey neere Fetipore, which may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with sawer, and Plankes and seelings are made thereof"(a).

III. ITS ARCHITECTURE

Architecturally, Akbar's mausoleum belongs to the general order—Indo-Saracenic, style Mughal. This style is divided into-two groups,

(a) Purchas, his Pilgrimes, vol. IV. 75-77. Cf. Captain Hawkin's accounts, III. 51. "The Sepulchre is some $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile about made square : it hath seaven heights built, every height narrower than in other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building : the compasse of the wall joyning to this Gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at the least three rules."

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA

the "early" and the "late", or roughly Akborean and Shajehanite. Between these two exists a wide gulf, bridged over by such works as the tomb of Akbar and the tomb of Itmad-ud-daulah.

The great characteristic of the early Mughal architecture is its virile eclecticism, its vigorous selection of the best materials then available. This was the spirit of Akbar's age and formed the dominant feature not only in its art, but also in its royal marriages, political administrations, general literature, nay in the very religion itself, the *Iziki* faith. In the domain of architecture the ground work and the general features were Saracenic. But along with it, various modifications were adopted. Coolness was sought by borrowing stone screens from the Guzerat style; solidity by adopting from the Hindu (and the Jaina) its struts and brackets, heavy squarish pillars, flat architraves over doors and windows, the sparing use of arches and the use of horizontal arches; elegance by employing Jaina peristylar forms; imposing effect by adding storeys like the Buddhists and the Jainas or by increasing the height and size like the early Pathans. In ornamentation, window traceries were imitated from the Guzerat style, elaborate carvings introduced from the Hindu types, or pillar and wall carvings, fresco-paintings and calligraphy adopted after the Persians. In fact, all the good points of Indian buildings and Persian decorations were more or less pressed into service, often mayhap in a disjointed way but with a vigour and energy unsurpassed in Indian history.

On the accession of Jahangir, the Hindu and Jaina influences almost ceased, and the Persian influence increased. Akbar's mausoleum shows this distinctly. The Hindu and Jaina adaptations are no longer found; the pyramidal form alone showing an imitation of the Buddhistic *Vihāras* or the *Raths* at Mahavalipur near Madras, already imitated in the five-storeyed Panchmehal of Fatepur-Sikri. The increase of the Persian influence is shown in the larger use of calligraphy and fresco-painting in blue and gold, and in the introduction of marble mosaics. The marriage with Nur Jehan, whose father was a Persian by birth, considerably strengthened the already increasing Persian influences; and this found full play in her father's tomb.

From Jahangir's father's tomb to his father-in-law's the jump is a long one, and from thence to the Taj, a still longer one. Each of these mausoleums has distinctive features of its own and they stand as the most prominent representatives of different types of architectural decoration. The differential characteristics of the three tombs may be briefly tabulated as below:

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Akbar's Tomb

1. The gateways, 4, lofty, 70 ft. high, in red sandstone with marble mosaic, with four minarets.

2. The garden.

3. The platform of white stone, 400 ft. sq.

4. The tomb 320 ft. sq., 100 ft. high, 5 storeys, 4 in red sandstone, the uppermost in marble. The storeys gradually lessening till the topmost is exactly half of the lowest.

5. The entrance to the mortuary hall through a high central archway (flanked by ten smaller arches) and vestibule.

6. The *jawab* marble cenotaph (of the 5th storey) in an open space 38 ft. sq. on a raised platform, surrounded by a cloister faced outside with a marble screen. The original intention of having a dome over the open space not carried out.

7. The decorations—enamelled tiling, marble mosaic outside, fresco-painting inside.

8. The work—3000 workmen, A.D. 1605 to 1613-14.

Itmâd-ud-Daulah's Tomb

1. The gateways, moderately high with marble mosaic in red sandstone.

2. The garden.

3. The platform low, fronted with marble.

4. The tomb 69 ft. sq., in two storeys, throughout in marble. The second storey less than half of the lower. At each corner a square octagonal tower.

5. The entrance through a moderately high arched portal.

6. The *jawab* marble cenotaphs under a flat dome, surrounded by marble window screens bordered and arched with *pietra-dura* inlayings.

7. The decorations—fresco-painting and marble carvings inside, enamelled tiling and marble mosaic outside, and *pietra-dura* inlayings both outside and inside.

8. The work—in 1622-1628.

The Taj Mahal

1. The gateways high, 3, in red sandstone with sparing *pietra-dura* inlayings.

2. The garden.

3. The platform marble faced, 18 ft. high, 313 ft. sq. At each corner a minaret 133 ft. high.

4. The tomb 186 ft. sq., throughout in marble. The two storeys the same in size.

5. The entrance through a high arched portal.

6. The *jawab* marble cenotaphs under a narrow-necked dome, 58 ft. in diameter and 80 ft. high, surrounded by an octagonal enclosure of marble trilliss-work, double marble screens over the doorways.

7. The decorations—marble carving inside, and *pietra-dura* inlaying of precious stones in marble both inside and outside.

8. The work—20,000 men for 17 years beginning with A. D. 1632. (1632-43, according to Jadunath Sirkar). The marble enclosure alone took ten years.

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDRA

Akbar's Tomb	Itmâd-ud-Daulah's Tomb	The Taj Mahal
9. The cost—50,000 <i>Tumâns</i> of 'Irak and 45 lacs of <i>Khanis</i> of Turân. 15 lacs of rupees according to Keene (?)	9. Not known.	9. Nearly 185 lacs of rupees.
10. General effect—vast and imposing.	10. General effect—elegant.	10. General effect—exquisitely harmonious.

Akbar's mausoleum and the tomb of Shahjehan represent two different stages in the Moghal art. The immense pile, crowded with accessories, gave place to a smaller but infinitely more harmonious structure, in which the few accessories were strictly subordinated to a central idea. Red sandstone was replaced by pure white marble ; fresco-painting and mosaic in coloured marbles by carvings and exquisite *pietra-dura* inlaying of precious stones in white marble ; the stone screens of the upper cloister by the wonderful marble enclosure of trellis-work, "a *chef-d'œuvre* of elegance in Indian art" (Fergusson). Best materials, harmonious proportions, highest workmanship—all these characterise that lovely 'dream in marble.'

Yet, historically, Akbar's tomb appears to me the more interesting. By the Taj, the Moghal art became stereotyped and lost its flexibility. With the increased knowledge of artistic laws and materials, and by the higher elevation of its ideal, all further progress became stopped. In the buildings of Akbar, ending with his tomb, it is the reverse. Energy dominates that period. All the important influences were given free play. These were joined by the strenuous life of the age in one living union, but not fused. The Moghal art was then in its heyday, attempting to assimilate the best influences available. It was the bud rapidly expanding under an eastern sun ; while the Taj is the perfect flower prophesying the rapid fall of the petals. One types a tall, active, rather awkward, but highly imaginative youth full of hopes and aspirations ; the other a lovely woman, divinely fair, too fair "for human creature's daily food."

I close this article with quotations from two inscriptions on probably the last great work of Akbar. The *Baland Darwaja* of Fatehpur Sikri, a mighty portal 176 ft. high, was erected to commemorate Akbar's conquest of Khandes in 1010 H. (A.D. 1602). Therein he preached apparently, with a foreknowledge, the following sublime doctrine :

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“Said Jesus, on whom be peace ! The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there. He who hopeth for an hour, may hope for eternity ; the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion ; the rest is worth nothing.”

“He that standeth up in prayer, and his heart is not in it, does not draw nigh to God, but remaineth far from Him. Thy best possession is what thou givest in the name of God ; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next.”

Shortly after this, passed away “His Majesty, king of kings, Heaven of the Court, shadow of God, Emperor, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.” After Life’s fitful fever he sleeps quietly at Sikandra. May his soul have eternal peace !

Allahu Akbar—God is Great !

Jalla Jalaluhu—Glorified be His Glory !

Manmohan Chakravarti

REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE PENINSULA OF THE PESSIMIST

[*The Other Side of the Lantern*—BY SIR FREDERICK TREVES.]

A considerable portion of Sir Frederick Treves' charming account of Eastern travels is devoted to India. Sir Frederick has 'done' India not like an ordinary cold-weather tourist nor does he exhibit any of the traits of Paget, M. P. He leaves the people of the different provinces of India severely alone, much less does he dabble in their social and political problems. The modern cities of India receive scant attention from him nor does he concern himself very much with Anglo-Indian life and society. He has very few remarks to make in the present book about the system of Government that prevails in India at present and fights shy of all questions with regard to the Ruling Chiefs and their relation to the Supreme Power. Above everything, there is no mention of the Delhi Durbar in his book, though several chapters in it are devoted to that great city, and there is not a word of abuse for the much-maligned Indian.

Evidently, Sir Frederick has seen India with no ordinary eyes and in no orthodox fashion. He did not go about India with a guide-book in hand nor did he pick up informations and opinions from Anglo-Indian 'cantonements' or 'clubs.' He has therefore no plain tales from the hills to tell nor any of the secrets of the life under the deodar to give out.

Yet, Sir Frederick Treves' account of India is one of the best that we have read for a long time. Couching his language in a style which reminds us of the best form of Rudyard Kipling, Pierre Loti and G. W. Steevens, Sir Frederick impresses us as one of the most penetrating and dispassionate observers that has written on this country for many a long day. His chapter on "The Men with the Planks" at once stamps him as a man of great human sympathy and insight and elevates the book under review far above the rank of the 'trivial' class to which the learned author himself modestly assigns it.

The first thing with which Sir Frederick himself is impressed with in India is the *teeming life* which crowd the land. G. W. Steevens said of us that we 'breed and breed and breed' and Sir Frederick tells us that it is not man alone which multiplies at a

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brisk rate in this country but beasts and birds as well. Not only do we find 'each narrow street is full to its walls' but we also see 'kites sailing circles in the golden air' wherever we go. The grey-headed Indian crow, the cheery mina, flocks of pigeons are as much in evidence in an Indian sky as the bull, the camel, the buffalo, the sheep, the goat, the rat and the squirrel in an Indian town.

Next to life, *colour*, intense colour, is the most noticeable feature in India. 'In any bazar', says Sir Frederick Treves, 'are to be seen all the colours of the spectrum dotted about a background of chequered light and tempered by the comfortable browns and umbers of mere dirt. The road is full of moving figures, lean and black-haired. The gaunt garments that are wrapped about them are of every colour in the world. A purple hood for the head and a scarlet gown, a bright green turban with an amber cloak, an orange-tinted tunic and a yellow scarf, a naked brown boy and a man clothed all in white make up the ever-changing eddies of colour in the street.'

A further impression which possessed Sir Frederick in India is that of the *melancholy* which hangs over 'both the land and its people.' The country 'looks homeless' and is full of 'grim extremes.' 'Sadder than the country', says our author, 'are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon." Much of the melancholy of the people Sir Frederick attributes to their religions, to their belief in the doctrine *che sara sara* (what will be, will be), to the terrible incubus of caste and to the degrading position which women are made to hold in Indian society.

Sir Frederick thinks that 'but for the brown skin, many (Indian) would be handsome and the peasant of few countries can surpass the Indian in the undoubted dignity of his mien.' 'The Indian serves at least to show that the turban is one of the most picturesque forms of head-dress, as it is one of the most rational.'

Regarding Indian women, Sir Frederick says :—

"There is (among them) an utter absence of coquetry, of any attempt to please, of any evidence of dressing for effect." But "there are two special attractions which the women of India can claim. They have, in the first place, a splendid carriage. They walk with a lissom grace and with dignified movement. In comparison with them in this respect the European woman is a

stumbling automaton. A second merit is theirs. The heads of the Indian women are not disfigured by any hideous practice in the matter of the dressing of hair. * * Beneath the thin hood the Indian girl wears is to be seen the simple, exquisite outline of the female head, unspoiled by any barbaric fancies of the hair-dresser."

In less than six pages, Sir Frederick Treves gives us a very accurate and graphic description of an Indian bazaar where the multitudinous and kaleidoscopic life of the Indian may be seen "in its nakedness."

But the most refreshing portion of the book is where the great English surgeon jots down his impressions of the Palace in the Fort at Agra, the Taj Mahal, Jeypore, Amber, Udaipur and Chitore. It is impossible to present to the reader any idea of the richness of thought and the glow of imagination with which each ancient city and monument is described by Sir Frederic without reproducing his language, which we are precluded from doing by the exigencies of space. Yet we cannot resist the temptation of making a few extracts.

Of the Taj, Sir Frederick says :—

"The secret of the beauty of the Taj Mahal lies in the great arched recesses or vaulted alcoves which burrow deep into the body of the building. These are throbbing with sensitive shadows and they give the impression that the onlooker can see into the very heart of this gentle palace as one would gaze into the heart of a yellow rose, where, leaf by leaf, the tints become deeper, warmer and more living. There is ever a sense of something half-hidden and half-revealed, of a tenderness which has deeper depths, of a beauty which is but partly shown, of a bosom shadowed by white lace. It is this abiding suggestion which makes the peculiar glory of the Taj—a glory which is beyond the reach of any model or any picture. To many the Taj Mahal will ever be the most beautiful building in the world, while there must be few who will not acknowledge that it is the most lovable monument that has ever been erected over the dead."

Sir Frederick does not believe that the Taj appears at its best by moonlight, for it then is like 'a flower with its petals closed,' but advises it to be visited 'late in the afternoon when the sunlight falls upon it from the west'

Chitore Sir Frederick calls the Pompeii of India and says of it :—

"Chitore has an unquiet past, for its annals are annals of violence and of heroic deeds. The story of the fort and of the men who held it can only compare with the legends of King Arthur and his Round Table. From its first day to its last the doom of war hung over the city like a thunder-cloud. The tale of the years of

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Chitore tells only of sieges, of night attacks, of fire and murder, of mad rushes from the sally port, of treachery and the crawling spy. To one thing only was Chitor a stranger, and that was the sleep of peace."

Sir Frederick has the happy knack of expressing a world of things by a few catch-words only. Fatehpur-Sikri he calls "the city of untrodden streets," the Kutab-minar and the iron-pillar outside Delhi he calls "the pillars of Goliath and David" the tomb of Itmad-ud-daulah at Agra he calls a "toy palace in porcelain," Benares he calls "the city of trampled flowers" and Simla "a city of forgetfulness."

One thing in Indian history appears to have great attraction for the great English surgeon. The Indian Mutiny and the cities that bulk largely in the history of that unfortunate episode receive detailed attention from Sir Frederick. We have glowing accounts from his pen, interspersed with quotations mostly from Mr. T. R. Holmes' *History of the Indian Mutiny*, of the Ridge at Delhi, the Kashmir Gate of Delhi, Cawnpore and the Residency at Lucknow and the deeds of great heroism done by the British and Indian soldiers in those historic places about half a century ago.

Sir Frederick did not visit the Deccan and the Madras Presidency and of the modern cities of India has recorded his impressions only of Bombay, Simla and Calcutta. With Calcutta and Bombay, however, he was not favourably impressed but Simla he thinks 'a singularly beautiful city.' "There is," on the other hand, at Simla, "a sense of helplessness in the seeming isolation of the place and in the utter solitude of the encompassing waste." There is one phase of Calcutta life which struck the great English surgeon as more impressive than any other and that is the 'deadly smell which fills the place. A blind man could tell a street in Calcutta from any he had ever visited." He quotes the following passage from Rudyard Kipling's *From Sea to Sea* in support of his impression :—

"For diffused, soul-sickening expansiveness, the reek of Calcutta beats both Benares and Peshawar. Bombay cloaks her stench with a veneer of assafoetida and tobacco ; Calcutta is above pretence. There is no tracing back the Calcutta plague to any one source. It is faint, it is sickly, and it is indescribable. It is certainly not an Indian smell. It resembles the essence of corruption that has rotted for the second time—the clammy odour of blue slime. And there is no escape from it."

India, after all, does not impress Sir Frederick as a 'beautiful' or a 'comfortable' country. It is strange that so keen an observer

of men and things should be blind to the opulent charm of Indian scenery and should consider India only as a land of 'grim' and 'oppressive' extremes, full of an 'atmosphere of dirt and noise.' 'Its description requires,' says Sir Frederick, 'a geography of exaggeration, and its physical features are to be expressed in capital letters which need to be immense and sensational.' The human beings that inhabit this vast country appear to him to be lifeless, cheerless, joyless and some times do not appear to be more active than is required to 'mimic death.' When he took steamer from Calcutta to Rangoon, Sir Frederick seems to have felt a sense of relief for having left India. 'India bated in sunshine and buried in contemplation.' "After the dust of India, after the dead roads, after the dismal view from rattling trains, this crisp surface of bonnie water (the Bay of Bengal) is a vision of delight."

SOME STRAY NOTES ON INDIAN EDUCATION

[*Reprinted from the STATESMAN—The Cherry Press, Calcutta*]

Most of these NOTES originally appeared as ephemeral literature and are now reprinted in book form. The first portion of this nice little brochure of sixty pages deals with the question that classics should have been included in the curriculum of the Calcutta University. A good deal of controversy has of late raged about this question and only the other day we had the spectacle of an advocate pleading for classics from his august chair of the Vice-Chancellor of one of our Universities. The Universities Commission also recommended in very strong terms that classics should be made compulsory in all higher examinations of arts and there is yet a chance of this recommendation being given effect to. With all respect to the hoary advocates of "classical culture," one looks with suspicion upon their attitude, reminding one that of the over-cautious mother who is always in fear of losing her only child. It will be really an unfortunate day for the Indian Universities if the study of classics be ever made compulsory in the B. A. Examination. Universities should meet the requirements of all types of students. If any subject is to be made compulsory in the B.A. Examination, it is undoubtedly English and that for very obvious reasons. No other subject should be made obligatory, there being a large number of subjects besides—out of which the candidates might be asked to take up only two or three. But if instead of that, the Universities make a classical language compulsory besides English,

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it will be much the worse for the spread of education. What is wanted in the Indian Universities is the removal of fetters from the shoulders of the students that they might give their native faculties a free and fair play and it is simply preposterous to bind the students down in their advanced career of study by artificial restrictions. Classics should be put on an equal footing with other branches of study and to give them a place particularly prominent will be doing monstrous injustice to other subjects.

The present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in course of his last convocation address, tried to inspire the graduates and under-graduates of Bengal with the example of Japan. But in Japan the students who want to pursue the studies of science are encouraged to read French or German or both. And we think that the time has now come when the Government should try as an experimental measure to teach French, German and Pali in Collegiate schools and in other high schools. The benefits that will accrue from this wholesome change will be many and important. For example the time that is now spent by a student, who takes up science in his advanced course of study, in mastering the intricacies of the Sanskrit Grammar and Text might be utilised in a more productive way by studying French or German. To a student of ancient Indian History, Pali is as much essential as Sanskrit.

The second part has, as its text, a portion of the speech delivered by the Vice-Chancellor at the last convocation of the Calcutta University. Mr. Pedler compares Japan with India and asks the question, 'why has Japan succeeded so much better than India?' The answer to this question is to be found, according to Mr. Pedler, in the patience, thoroughness, concentration, adaptation and originality of the Japanese. These traits are the very essence of success in any sphere of life and activity, not to speak of University education alone. The Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta seemed to lay the whole blame at the door of the Indian students and the colleges managed by Indians. With all respect to Mr. Pedler, we must say that it is difficult to subscribe to such unsympathetic views. Reform, like charity, should always begin at home. When Mr. Pedlar said that 'the average number of Professors in a Bengal College is, however, only between seven and eight,' he evidently wanted to establish a case against the colleges managed by natives. But is the position of the Government which is represented by Mr. Pedler in educational matters quite sound? With the exception of the Presidency College, all the Government Colleges are inadequately manned with instructors and even in the Presidency College itself, the teaching

staff should be doubled, if anything like efficient training and instruction is to be imparted. The writer of the *Stray Notes* has pointed out very lucidly that even at the Presidency College, the 'poor professors' 'suffering under repeated transfer and threats of transfers' sighed for a strong staff in which each professor could take a single subject, or it might be only a part of a subject.

'In 1902 there were no less than 449 post-graduates or research students at work in Tokio,' but how does the matter stand here in Bengal? The number of research-students in Bengal is only nine and there are only two or three exceptionally fortunate professors who are encouraged to carry on their own research-work by the Government. But is this enough? The Government and the University have both a great, a very great, responsibility in this matter. The appointment of numbers of committees and the drawing up of very imposing syllabuses will not be sufficient to elevate the educational tone of the country. What is wanted is a number of University professors who will have nothing to do with ordinary tutorial work but who, on the other hand, will be specialists in a part of a subject and under whom there will work a large number of post-graduate research-students. The appointment of a large number of university professors might be a 'scandalous waste of public money' but an appointment of 15 or 20 professors is worth the experiment. We have seen it announced that at present the University does not mean to get a laboratory of its own. This decision of the University will be disappointing to all true lovers of Indian education. Now that we have got a university where the teachers, who are the natural spokesmen of the country in educational matters, have got a preponderating voice, let us hope that in no distant future we shall have a University library, laboratory and museum where bands of our educated young men will devote their whole lives and energies to the pursuit of knowledge in its various aspects.

Another thing which detracts from the educational work in this country is the very small amount of encouragement the teachers obtain at the hands of the Government. An M. A. or a B. A. (with honours) is to start his life in the Education Department on Rs. 50 and that with no prospect at all, while a very ordinary graduate can start his life with a better beginning and brighter prospects in any other sphere of activity. A department to be efficient must be sufficiently attractive and the Americans, to whom the Japanese are very greatly indebted for their educational policy, have got a total grant of 'ninety crores of rupees' to be spent on education. But our Government, with its frontier policy and all sorts of heavy military

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expenditure, does not find sufficient funds to be devoted to education than which 'no more inspiring cause or higher field for Indian patriotism' can be easily conceived. His Excellency the Viceroy in course of his recent address to the Directors assembled at Simla is reported to have said that money is wanted to successfully bring out any educational reform in this country. It is true that the Imperial Government last year made some grants to the Provincial Governments for primary education. But is that grant quite enough? And why has there been no further grant for higher education?

The writer of the *Stray Notes* says that in Japan attendance at primary schools is compulsory and we hope that the Indian Government will also try to make the rural education of boys and girls compulsory by law. Mass education is of prime importance in India and the political leaders of the country should seriously take the matter into consideration and we would like to see a resolution to the effect forming a part of the programme of the next National Congress to be held at Benares. No nation can prosper where there is a gulf daily widening more and more separating the educated community from the mass.

The writer of the *Stray Notes* says that 'the Bengali youth is most strikingly wanting' in the faculties to argue accurately as to the most probable meaning and tendency of new facts and to form a sound judgment as to how they are best to be dealt with in action. We would like to take an exception to these remarks. Our idea is that it is not the faculties that are wanting but the opportunities where their faculties can operate, and their judgment can find scope. The post-graduate students of Bengal have been doing good work for the last few years and if they can not attain to such a high proficiency as achieved by the foreign students working under highly eminent professors in England, France, Germany or America, the fault is not solely their's. The writer has pleaded for a 'more rational examination' by the University and has quoted the opinion of Dr. Schuster who 'advocates the total abolition of University examinations with the exception of a sort of honours qualifying examination at the end of a good student's second year'. Prof. Schuster also advocates the abolition of the distinction of successful examination candidates into classes. We are unfortunately unable to apply the learned doctor's dictum in Bengal. Cambridge, Heidelberg and Manchester might be suitable for this drastic change but the Calcutta University should retain its system of examinations. The introduction of a system of class-examinations should be enforced by the Senate and no student should be allowed to read in a higher

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class unless he has passed the annual class-examination or to appear at the University examination unless he has come out successful at the college-test. The absence of class-examinations is largely responsible for the failure of candidates at the final University examinations. We think that this system is accompanied with the great evil of cramming and does not encourage the student to 'original thought and investigation.' The writer draws our attention to the institution, the *Privatdocenten*, peculiar to the German universities. An institution like that of the German *Privatdocenten* should be tried experimentally in Bengal.

Though at the present day it will be neither possible nor desirable to have apprentice-professors and lecturers who will deliver courses of lecture 'equally recognised by the University,' still it will be a wholesome innovation if the Senate organises a band of licensed tutors who will have smaller batches of students under their direct control. The University will also do well by fixing a maximum number of students for each class. The over-crowding of some of the classes even at the Presidency College is simply deplorable. The authorities of the Shibpur College are doing well by fixing a maximum limit to the number of students every year and the Medical College authorities are also, we believe, trying to set a limit to the number of students to be admitted every year by not allowing third class students to enter their college except under special circumstances. Almost all the classes of the private colleges are crowded to suffocation and some of the law classes have not even room and furniture enough to accommodate all the students. The spectacle of law students loitering in the college compound under the shade of some over-spreading trees is anything but creditable to the college authorities. Some of the colleges in the mofussil are ill-housed and the proprietors are regardless of many of the actual and pressing wants of the colleges. We hope the University Inspectorate will make a sifting enquiry into the management, funds, accommodation, &c. of the private colleges in the mofussil. But we must also say that the Government is not paying adequate attention for the proper up-keep of its colleges, either in town or in the mofussil.

The *Stray Notes* deal with some other important and interesting questions connected with Indian Education and display much special knowledge and sympathetic insight. We accord to this publication our hearty welcome and the more such books appear the more is the attention of the public likely to be drawn to this absorbing, but neglected, subject.

An Indian Educationist

LIST OF BOOKS ON INDIA

1. BOBBILI, MAHARAJAH OF—Advice to the Indian Aristocracy (Messrs. Addison & Co., Madras)
2. CARSTAIRS, ROBERT (I. C. S., Retired)—A Plea for the Better Local Government of Bengal (Macmillan & Co.)
3. CURTIS, W.E.—Modern India (Messrs. Oliphant & Co.)
4. HOPE, LAURENCE—Indian Love (W. Heinemann)
5. KELLY, R. T.—Burmah, Painted and Described (Black)
6. NAIDU, MRS. SOROJINI—The Threshold (A Book of Poems)
7. NEWCOMBE, A. C.—Village, Town & Jungle Life in India (Blackwood & Sons)
8. USBORNE, C. F.—Panjabi Lyrics and Proverbs : Translations in Verse and Prose (The *Civil and Military Gazette* Press, Lahore)

LIST OF ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

ENGLISH

1. BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE (September) :—Lord Curzon, Lord Kitchener, and Mr. Brodrick
2. GENTLEMEN'S MAGAZINE (September) :—Rajputna in 1857-58 ; a Chapter of the Indian Mutiny—by G. H. Trevor
Shwè Dagon ; the Golden Pagoda—by Emily A. Richings
3. POSITIVIST REVIEW (September) :—The Defence of India—by Prof. E. S. Beesly
4. AUSTRALIAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS (MELBOURNE, August) :—B. O. Reynolds on India—by W. H. Judkins

GERMAN

1. VELHAGEN UND KLASING'S MONATSHEFTE (August) :—Life in India—by W. Fred

FRENCH

1. CORRESPONDANT (August) :—Russia, England and India—by A. Chèradame

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HYDERABAD : PAST AND PRESENT

An article on the above subject, contributed to the October *Asiatic Quarterly Review* by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I., gives a vivid description of Hyderabad. Treating of its past history and of how the State of Hyderabad was established by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the writer enters into a brief account of James Achilles Kirkpatrick. Kirkpatrick was Resident at the Court of Nizam Ali Khan and rendered valuable services to the State. It was he who was chiefly instrumental in prevailing upon the Nizam to conclude treaties with the English during the years, 1798-1804. These provided for the protection of the State by the British. Next comes the description of Hyderabad which is lively and graphic. Hyderabad is situated on the bank of the river Moosi which is spanned by three fine stone-bridges, is enclosed by a wall, and is entered by four main gateways. It covers a large area and contains some fine buildings, the chief of which are the Delhi Mosque, the Jama Musjid, the Charminar and the palaces of His Highness the Nizam and many of his nobles, each standing in its own enclosure with fortified walls and projecting bastions. Some of these enclosures contain fine trees, well-laid-out gardens and sparkling fountains. The whole city is beautifully designed. Its greatest attraction is the scenery. Hyderabad is surrounded by hills, which are covered with vegetation and studded with large flat-topped masses of stone of quaint and phantastic shape. Trees grow to a large size, and the city and its suburbs are full of magnificent specimens of the banyan, the pipal and the mango. The population is about 12,000,000 and the revenue approximates £3,000,000. The system of administration in Hyderabad compares favourably with that of other Native States. For revenue purposes, the State is divided into *tehsils*, *talukas* and *subahs*. There is a Secretary for each of the Departments—Finance, Revenue, Judicial (including police and gaols), and Military. There is a Cabinet Council of the Nobles of the State, each member holding one of the departmental portfolios. The Council is presided over by the Minister and is subordinate to His Highness the Nizam. Hyderabad is now well served by railways. The Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway Company, which has hitherto been supported by a guarantee of 4 per cent. from the State on its capital—a guarantee which

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is about to expire in respect of the main line—has constructed a railway from Wadi to Hyderabad, 124 miles ; from Hyderabad to Bezwada to the south, 140 miles, and from Hyderabad to Manmar to the north and west. The mineral resources of Hyderabad are extensive and valuable. Coal, iron, and gold exist over large areas. The finances of the State have always been a source of anxiety. It is satisfactory to notice that considerable improvement in this important branch of the administration has lately set in. Through the able services of Mr. Casson Walker of the Punjab Commission, the assets of the State are now better by more than a crore of rupees than they were three years ago ; several lacs of the old State debts have been cleared off and savings have been effected under various heads of expenditure. The article in the last place touches upon the relations of British Government with the Nizam and the administration of the State. The writer, speaking of his experience of Native States, including such important principalities as Kashmir, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Jodhpore and Rewah, says that there is no State in India more dependent upon the advice of the Resident, or more desirous of conforming with the wishes of the Government of India than is Hyderabad. In short, according to the writer, Hyderabad has great possibilities before it and, if the present system of government is maintained, this State is likely to be one of the most powerful pillars of British Power in India in the near future.

EARLY MARRIAGE IN INDIA

Sirdar Arjan Singh of Kapurthala contributes an article on the above subject to the current number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. He begins by saying that in most countries people do not marry till they are fully grown up and are able to support a family ; but in India the case is different. Early marriages are greatly prevalent here. The writer observes that the custom of early marriage did not exist in pre-vedic and post-vedic periods. A courtship of a very modern type is allowed in the *Rig Veda* and *Atharva Veda*, and the consent of parents was only sought after the young people had themselves come to an understanding. Some people are of opinion that early marriages were introduced by the writings of Manu. Professor Max Muller is of opinion that *Sruti* and *Smriti* do not allow early marriages and that the teachings of the *Sastras* prohibit a youth from marrying before nineteen or twenty years of age. Mr. Malabari, the Indian social reformer, thinks that

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the marriageable age, as given in the Hindu *Sastras*, is from fifteen to twenty and Lala Baij Nath places it at twenty and twenty-five. The writer then makes a remark of his own by saying that so numerous are the Sanskrit books, and so varied and sometimes contradictory is their subject-matter and that of the commentaries upon them, that one can hold any opinion one likes without the least difficulty, bringing some one or other of the books to support him. The Sirdar then goes on to say that though India is a warm country and though children grow up quickly here, it is a grave mistake to suppose, as people generally do, that puberty implies fitness for marriage. Treating then of the manifold evils of early marriage and entering briefly into the supposed causes which have introduced child-marriage in India, the Sirdar concludes by remarking that, if the Government cannot take prohibitory measures, the custom of early marriage is not likely to diminish until education spreads enough to suppress it.

A FORGOTTEN EPISODE OF INDIAN HISTORY

As proposed in our last number, we present to our readers in this issue a brief sketch of the above article which occupies the place of honour in the August number of Mr. Malabari's *East and West*. The supersession of Lord Heytesbury, appointed Governor-General of India by Sir Robert Peel's Ministry in 1834-35, by the Government which succeeded them, forms the subject matter of the article under notice. It was a remarkable episode of Anglo-Indian history, says the writer of the article, Dr. R. Garnett, and has set a precedent which may be found highly inconvenient by ministers in the future. The appointment of Lord Heytesbury, originally made by the crown, had been ratified by the company. The new Governor-General was about to sail for the shores of India when Lord Melbourne's Government cancelled the appointment which was deliberately made by their predecessors, with whom, and not with the East India Company, their controversy lay. By declining to confirm the appointment, Lord Melbourne's Government laid themselves open to the charge of jobbery. They also gravely impugned the judgment of their predecessors, and exposed themselves to attack from a formidable Opposition. They must certainly have seemed to have provided their opponents with material for a grand party-fight. But the matter passed off with little notice and no serious opposition was offered to it. The long delay in designating a successor to Lord Bentinck, after Heytesbury's appointment was cancelled, shows that no personal

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interest was concerned ; yet the probable reason for the action of the Government has remained unknown.

According to the writer, the principal cause of Lord Heytesbury's supersession and of the Opposition's langour in espousing his cause, was the suspicion, under which he lay, of Russian sympathies. Although at that time Russia was more than twice as far from Indian frontiers as now, the apprehensions and suspicions of her designs were in many quarters more acute than they are at present. Lord Heytesbury was a nobleman of fair abilities and unblemished character and possessed considerable landed property in Wiltshire. But while he was the envoy at St. Petersburg he incurred the double censure of being too kindly affected towards the Tsar Nicholas and of being too easily deluded by him. As his Lordship appears to have been unobjectionable in every other respect, the writer suggests this as the most probable motive for the exceedingly strong step the ministers took—a step quite at variance with the honourable traditions of English public life.

Dr. Garnett then cites and evidence in support of the above statement from the interesting and instructive Diary of Lord Ellenborough who then used to take special notes of business relating to foreign affairs and thus chronicled several particulars of Lord Heytesbury, then in close official contact with the Tsar. The stroke is said to have proceeded from Lord Palmerston who monopolised the control of almost every department of foreign policy and thus regarded Indian affairs as within his sphere. His constant jealousy of Russia is notorious, and the appointment of a reputed philo-Russian like Lord Heytesbury must have been highly distasteful to him. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, was the nominal mover of the transaction but the hand was the hand of Palmerston. Next we have the official documents relating to the matter as they exist in the Broughton papers bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton. They are not remarkable as state-papers and contain no revelations ; the Government's want of confidence in Lord Heytesbury is clearly stated, but the cause is left in obscurity. The absence of any demand for explanation on the part of Lord Heytesbury is noteworthy. The whole correspondence is highly interesting and throws a flood of light on the strained relations between William IV. and his ministers.

The writer concludes by informing his readers that, as foreshadowed in Hobhouse's letter to the King, the Governor-Generalship was kept open until Lord Bentinck's arrival in England when Sir J. Auckland

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was appointed. Whatever might be the merits of the supersession of Lord Heytesbury, we owe to this event the LIBERTY OF THE INDIAN PRESS—a boon which was granted to the people of India by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who acted as Governor-General from the time of Bentinck's departure in March, 1835 to Auckland's arrival in the same month of the following year.

RAMA'S CAUSEWAY

The writer of this article in *The Madras Review*, Mr. J. C. Dutt, compares Rama's causeway with the wall that the Greeks raised to defend their ships from the attacks of the Trojans. Rama caused a causeway to be built from the mainland to the island of Ceylon, right across the sea, for his army to cross over. This causeway was one continuous work without gaps or breaks in it. In ancient times, the writer asserts, when the *Ramayana* was written, no idea whatever of the real nature of the communication between the mainland and the island of Ceylon existed among the masses of the population of Northern India. Whatever knowledge about it existed among the well-informed part of the people was erroneous. Considering this scantiness of information, Mr. Dutt arrives at the conclusion that the author of the *Ramayana* who took the causeway as an unbroken line of embankment must have been misinformed as to the real nature of the causeway. Communication being freer in Kirtibash's time, he had a more correct information about the causeway. Kirtibash, neither having the courage to contradict the statement in the original work nor able to describe the causeway as an unbroken piece of work, reconciled the contradictions by stating that when victory had been won by Rama, the sea-god appeared before him and begged that the fetters imposed upon him in the shape of the causeway might be removed. Submitting to Rama's direction, Lakshmana removed with the end of his bow three pieces of stone, evidently to correspond with the three larger gaps in the chain, and allowed the waters to run through the gaps. The writer, in the next place, discusses the origin and nature of the Rakshasas. In his opinion, the Rakshasas were of the same origin as the Dasyus in the *Rig Veda* and like them were dark, strong of limbs, inhabitants of the jungles and enemies of Aryan Worship. They were not, the writer asserts, the Buddhists of Ceylon, as some European scholars imagine. The next point discussed is the speed of chariots. Referring to some instances, the writer has shown that different sorts

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of chariots could run at different rates, some at the rate of about nine miles an hour and others at the rate of five miles an hour, the last being the ordinary rate.

THE MADRAS TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT

The Madras Agricultural Department has just published a Bulletin on the methods of cultivating and curing tobacco practised by the growers around Dindigul. Fifteen years ago Mr. Caine, Tobacco Expert, was deputed by Government to study this crop in that neighbourhood, but his experiments were not considered a success by other experts. Last year the attention of the Government was once more directed to the importance of placing this industry on a stable basis. The Dindigul neighbourhood produces fine cigar-leaf tobacco but, it being unsuitable for a wrapper-leaf, foreign leaf has to be imported. The problem which the Government prepared to solve had two phases:—first, the defects caused by natural conditions, such as climate, soil and water; and secondly, those which arise in the mechanical processes. The Government chose to inquire into the latter first. The present Bulletin purports to be a revised edition of the previous publication on the subject.

The defects observed are as follows:—

- (1) Wastage of manure by exposure.
- (2) Non-manuring of seed-beds and flooding them too much.
- (3) Planting too closely.
- (4) Insufficient hoeing.
- (5) Ineffective suckering, and allowing the suckers to grow very large.
- (6) Indiscriminate harvesting, *i.e.* cutting mature and immature leaves simultaneously.
- (7) Injurious effect of too much sun in the curing process.
- (8) Uneven drying.
- (9) Unregulated fermentation.
- (10) Careless and fraudulent sorting.

Valuable hints are given to obviate these defects. Madras has exported during the past six years nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ million rupees worth of tobacco every year. Of this, two-thirds is in the form of manufactured tobacco and the remaining third goes out as cigar. Again 70 p. c. of the total goes by coast to Burma and Bengal; and 30 p. c. by sea to the Straits Settlements, United Kingdom, and Ceylon chiefly.

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Nearly 90 p. c. of the coasting trade is absorbed by Cocanada, which comes in for about 4 p. c. of the sea-borne trade also. The bulk of the exports to the Straits Settlements issues out of Negapatam, which passes on 85 p. c. of the raw tobacco, and 24 p. c. of the cigars. Last come Tuticorin and Madras, dividing between themselves equally the remaining 72 p. c. of the foreign cigar trade, which is mainly with Great Britain, and, to some extent, with Cape Colony and Natal. To put the matter in another form, 8 lacs worth of cigars go by sea, of which about 6 lacs or about 18 p. c. of the total trade is divided between Madras and Tuticori. Taking the acreage under tobacco, the average for the five years was 116 thousand acres. It has been ascertained that the Dindigul country does at the utmost represent only 10 p.c., the smallest figure, of the total area and it is a matter of some surprise why the Government should have chosen Dindigul, of all places, for their investigations. Realising the importance of the Delta tobacco, the Government has granted concessions to Mr. T. H. Barry of Cocanada, who is to conduct experiments with exotic varieties of tobacco on a piece of 150 acres of *lanka* land leased to him by the Government for 6 years. But it is understood that foreign varieties have a tendency to deteriorate. There is also the theory that cross-fertilisation is injurious to tobacco. However, as the Government has agreed, on the last Budget occasion, to secure the services of a Tobacco expert for the Pusa Research Institute, Madras should also be given an Agricultural Chemist who might be expected to tackle the complex problems arising from natural defects.

INDIAN ECONOMICS

The above is the title of an excellent article contributed by Mr. V. Rangachari to the last number of *The Madras Review*. It is devoted to a consideration of the defects that stand in the way of the agricultural prosperity of India. In the very beginning, it points out the supreme importance of agriculture in India and then proceeds to dwell upon the various causes which keep agricultural pursuits in India from flourishing in a marked way. The causes may be briefly summed up here—

- (1) Indebtedness of the peasantry to money-lenders.
- (2) Aversion of the peasant class to change.
- (3) Their ignorance and resourcelessness.
- (4) Non-application of labour-saving machines.

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- (5) Want of canal and tank irrigation.
- (6) Spirit of inertia and improvidence of the peasants.
- (7) Absence of sub-soil drainage.
- (8) Want of the knowledge of proper manuring.

Describing how the peasants are gradually being impoverished by a servile dependence upon money-lenders, the learned writer suggests the formation of Agricultural Banks and mentions in passing the Raiffeisen Banks of Germany. Raiffeisen, the German Burgomaster, being moved by the crushing troubles of the peasant cultivators, chalked out his famous co-operative banking system. His Loan Banks have spread everywhere with remarkable rapidity. Mr. Rangachari suggests that Credit Banks should be established in India on the lines of the Raiffeisen Bank system where men, well acquainted with each other, should combine with the object of raising funds from their own savings, from deposits of outsiders and from loans obtained by pledging the joint-credit of the association. Out of these funds, loans should be granted at moderate rates of interest to the members on no other security than that of personal character ; so that the poorer classes who cannot afford to bring any other security than their own honesty may be benefitted. Treating then in succession of the aversion which the peasants show to any change meant for the betterment of their craft, of their extreme ignorance of the onward progress of the world and of the science of agriculture, of the absence of facilities and resources for improvement under which they labour, of their non-application of labour-saving machines or appliances and of the improper use they make of cow-dung by using it as fuel instead of manure, the able writer winds up by saying that even if the above causes were absent, agriculture in India could not flourish without the aid and co-operation of the Government. If the Government changes its present land policy and renders substantial and pecuniary aids to the proposed co-operative societies, people will be able to place confidence in such organisations and profit fully by it. The agricultural development of India, therefore, depends greatly upon the sympathetic attitude of the Government.

"AN INDIAN RETROSPECT & SOME COMMENTS"

The above article in the October *Nineteenth Century* from the masterly pen of Mr. Ameer Ali, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, fully repays perusal. It takes, as the article itself seems to imply, a retrospective view of Indian affairs and contains some observations, the wisdom of which is guaranteed by the profound

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scholarship, rare insight and life-long experience of the reputed writer. The article discusses a large number of questions and begins by commenting on a certain observation of Lord Curzon with reference to public opinion in India. Lord Curzon took occasion in a speech sometime ago to remark that public opinion in order to exercise a vivifying and steadying influence must be 'suggestive.' Commenting on this piece of observation, Mr. Ameer Ali says that, owing to the peculiar conditions of the country, there is unfortunately a great divergence of opinion in matters affecting the different communities although on general questions the uniformity is surprising. In the opinion of Mr. Ameer Ali, public opinion would be highly effective, were the nationalities of India more homogeneous or more willing to approach special interests in a spirit of compromise. During the period between 1858 and 1880, legislation, he states, save in one respect, had all an ameliorating tendency. The one exception relates to the exaction of Government dues. Without dwelling on this point of exception, Mr. Ameer Ali says that since 1880 the country has witnessed still greater changes, and then favourably remarks that in the face of these facts it would be absurd to say the Indian Government has not kept in view the principles and pledges of the Queen's Proclamation. He then successively treats of public revenues, improvement of the police, taxation, condition of the peasants and a few other subjects of public importance. Public revenues have augmented within the last decade by several millions ; instead of a hopeless deficit, there is a real surplus, and that without any substantial retrenchment, and in spite of the creation of new departments. As regards taxation, although its general incidence remains unaltered, in many respects considerable relaxation has been afforded to the tax-paying public. In treating of the attitude of Government towards commerce and of the larger employment of the natives in the higher departments of Administration, Mr. Ameer Ali makes some observations marked with great moderation and keenness of judgment. He countenances the existence of Englishmen in the different grades of the official hierarchy as being conducive to the maintenance of a wholesome influence on the general *morale* of the administration, but at the same time urges that Indians of undoubted merit and ability, of integrity and character, should not be debarred from any office under the State and that no place under Government should be regarded as the peculiar monopoly of any race and that no distinction should be made in the matter of State patronage on racial grounds. The article in the last place tackles the Mahomedan question which forms today, as it did

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

twenty-five years ago, one of the most pressing problems of Indian administration. Describing the Mahomedans as one of the most loyal nationalities in India, the article mourns over the fact that this important community has suffered very much under British rule. It has declined in wealth, prosperity, influence and all the elements which conduce to development and progress, and there is yet no indication of a stop in the process of declension. The Central National Mahomedan Association presented in 1883 a memorial to the Indian Government on some questions affecting the vital interests of the Mussulmans of India. This memorial was finally dealt with by Lord Dufferin in 1885, and the conclusions arrived at were embodied in a Resolution which is regarded by the Mahomedans of India as their Magna Charta; but unfortunately local authorities do not very often give effect to its provisions and principles. But it is frankly admitted that the Mahomedan problem cannot be solved by merely giving them a few posts under Government as their ruin as a prosperous and progressive community began with the confiscations of the Inam Commission in the early part of the nineteenth century and has been completed by the recent pronouncements of British courts of justice upsetting the institution of *wakf*, which is interwoven with their entire religious and social life, and on which rests the whole fabric of their prosperity as a people. This institution presents pauperisation of Mahomedan families by entitling every Mahomedan to tie up his property and render it inalienable and non-heritable by devoting it to pious purposes. The endower is at liberty to designate any pious purpose or purposes to which it may be applied and either to constitute himself the trustee or appoint any other person as such. Now, as the Mussalman law declares that charity to one's kith and kin is the highest act of merit, number of Mahomedan families in India owed to the institution of *wakf* their existence, wealth, and influence which preserved their properties from disintegration and division, and protected them from the hands of money-lenders. When the dedication was initially meant for the maintenance of descendants, provision was invariably made for other pious purposes, such as the support of religious worship, performance of religious ceremonies, and the upkeep of schools and hospitals. Mr. Ameer Ali concludes by remarking that the further impoverishment and decadence of the Mussalman people cannot be stopped until and unless the Legislature be pleased to validate by special enactment this particular branch of the Islamic law, and the statesman who succeeds in placing such a measure on the statute-book will be regarded by the Mahomedans as the chief instrument of their salvation.

SELECTIONS

THE DEFENCE OF CHITORE

The Governor of Chitore was upon the ramparts observing the progress of the enemy, who were making their approaches behind wicker-frames filled with earth and covered with leather. The town was plentifully supplied with provisions ; the garrison consisted of eight thousand Rajpoots, and it was determined to resist whilst a stone remained in the battlements. The siege had already continued six weeks, directed by Akbar in person, but no material effect had been produced. The besieged fought with that determined spirit peculiar to the Rajpoot character. The fortifications were of great strength, and although the garrison had made several desperate sallies, their loss had hitherto been insignificant.

Akbar was vexed at being detained so long before the place, as he was in the habit of carrying much more promptly the towns which he invested with his armies. He, however, knew the strength of the garrison, was well acquainted with the characters of the men who composed it, and had therefore made up his mind that Chitore would not be an easy conquest.

While the governor was standing on the ramparts, he was joined by his wife, a handsome woman, under thirty, although the mother of two marriageable daughters.

"Jaymul," she said, whilst a glance of fire shot from her dilated eye, "will these scoffers of our gods prevail ?"

"I know not—their king is brave."

"Is there a living soul within these walls of whom you cannot say as much ?"

"I trust not ; but he is likewise a successful general, and success is not the issue of chance, but of talent."

"Have we not encountered both before now ?"

"Yes ; but the latter has its degrees, and the interval between great and little is extreme."

"Then you despair of driving these Moslems from before our walls."

"You know that a Rajpoot never despairs. Nevertheless, of this I am certain, that nothing but a desperate resistance and an extensive destruction of the enemy will cause him to relinquish his present purpose."

"Jaymul, he knows not that there are women within this fortress who fear not to encounter his men in a struggle of death. Let him beware how he provokes such a collision."

"You miscalculate the energies of the wives and daughters of Chitore, if you measure them by your own."

"Should the extremity arrive, it will be seen whether I have misjudged my countrywomen. Meanwhile, Jaymul, I claim to be a partner in your toils, and to share the glory as well the labour of your resistance to this Moslem sovereign. It is but just that the wife should partake of her husband's honours, of which I trust you are about to reap a full harvest."

At this time, Chitore was invested by an army of thirty thousand men, commanded by Akbar in person, acknowledged the greatest leader of his age; yet this did not dispirit the governor's wife, who was evidently more sanguine than her husband in the valour and resources of the garrison. Her eldest daughter, a lovely girl of sixteen, was engaged to a young Rajpoot chief, who when the siege commenced had thrown himself into Chitore with a few resolute followers.

Peirup Singh had not only the qualities of daring, valour and indomitable resolution in common with his race, but was moreover young, handsome, and intelligent. He was ardently attached to the beautiful Kherla Nani, though she had not yet experienced the glow of fervent affection. The young Rajpoot had been the choice of her parents, not of herself; her feelings, therefore, toward him, when brought to a sum, would have formed a total amounting to little more than indifference. She felt no objection to the choice of her parents, for she had no reason on the score of his general qualities; but she did not love him.

Peirup Singh was anxious that their nuptials should immediately take place, notwithstanding the siege, which had already been going on several weeks; and from the strength of the garrison, and the resolution of the foe, there was every reason to apprehend that it would not be terminated for some months to come. He, therefore, sought the Rajpootni to propose an immediate fulfilment of his wishes.

"Kherla," said he, "youth is the beautiful season of life; but in proportion as it is beautiful it is fleeting. The hours of enjoyment are sparingly meted out to us; it were, therefore, unwise to cast any away. I rejoice in the possession of your love, but would be made happy in the possession of you."

"Peirup Singh," replied the noble girl, "you have been promised;

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that possession, and shall have it when the season comes ; but I could not wed amid the dangers which surround us. When your valour has contributed to drive the enemy from our walls, I will give myself up to your future good guidance."

"But why delay my happiness ? Think you I shall fight less effectually as your husband than as your lover ?"

"I know not ; but I would be the spouse of a brave man. You have the reputation of being such, yet I have had no proof of it. Ample opportunity is now afforded you of showing that your reputation does not fall below your merit."

"Ha ! must I prove my claim to your love, Kherla ? This is rather a mortifying exaction."

"Not to a brave man, who is always proud to ratify by deeds of arms the reputation to which he lays claim."

"But I promise you, the moment you are mine I will give you those proofs you require that your husband is unable to dishonour the name of Rajpoot."

"Nay, Peirup Singh, the siege is still going on. I cannot comply with your wishes until the Moslem tyrant is either slain or driven from the neighbourhood of our homes. If you were to steep your sabre in his heart's blood, my consent to an immediate union would be won. It may be worth your thinking of, Peirup Singh."

In Akbar's army was a Rajpoot, who having quitted Chitore in disgust, had enrolled himself among the Mogul troops. The cause of his abandoning his countrymen was this :—Having become attached to the younger daughter of the governor, who encouraged his addresses, her parents had refused their consent, not considering him eligible in point of rank for such an alliance. The girl, in consequence, implicitly obeying the directions of her parents, rejected him. His mortification was extreme.

All the passions of these fierce warriors are proportionately strong, and his disappointed feelings immediately urged him to an act of treachery. He went over to the enemy and made those communications which greatly facilitated the progress of the siege. Akbar well knew how to profit by the information received, but did not trust the man beyond the line of wary policy. The Rajpoot was allowed to see nothing by which he could betray the Emperor's designs to his countrymen, yet he was apparently treated with confidence and kindness. He, however, soon perceived that he was suspected. This discovery raised his indignation, and he immediately embraced the hollow maxim, suggested by his passions, that the man suspected of being a traitor is justified in becoming

one. He was a fierce hot-blooded desperado, who sacrificed everything to the gratification of his feelings. Thinking that he might by a second act of treachery win the consent of Jaymul to wed his daughter and thus gratify at once his love and his revenge, he determined to seek the governor of Chitore, and propose, as the price of his consent, to slay the Mogul monarch.

The first difficulty was to obtain admission into the fort. Aware that on one side, where the wall was so high as almost to preclude the possibility of scaling it, the sentries posted were fewer and less vigilant, he resolved alone to attempt to climb the wall in this spot. One dark night, having provided himself with several spikes about nine inches long, he proceeded cautiously to the rampart. He had quitted the camp unknown to any one, having passed the sentries by daylight without suspicion, upon some natural pretence. When he reached the base of the rampart, which was here at least eighty feet high, he began to try his spikes upon the masonry. The stones were laid one on the other without cement, so that the interstices between them were sufficiently spacious to admit, with a little management, the introduction of his spikes. Fixing the first about a yard from the ground he stood on it, and placing another a foot above it he again raised himself, and pursuing this plan with cool perseverance, in spite of the great peril, he at length reached the summit of the battlement.

Whilst he was thus ascending, with the patient earnestness of a man who has a personal feeling to gratify, the sentinel above was fortunately whiling away the hours by chanting one of his native songs, which prevented him from hearing any sound made during this perilous ascent.

Previously to attempting the wall, the Rajpoot had cast off his dress, so that, the night being dark, the deep hue of his skin was not likely to be perceived by any eye that might look over the parapet. The white tunic of the soldier upon the ramparts, on the contrary, rendered him visible to a considerable distance through the darkness. When the Rajpoot reached the summit, he sprang over the parapet as the sentinel was leisurely walking from him. Having fairly gained the ramparts, he went deliberately up to the soldier, and, addressing him as if he were one of the garrison, had no difficulty in accounting for his appearance without exciting suspicion. Seeing that he was one of his own caste, the unsuspecting Hindoo entertained no doubt of his belonging to the troops under the command of Jaymul, and consequently allowed him to proceed without further interruption. The Rajpoot threw himself

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under the portico of a temple and slept soundly until morning. At an early hour he appeared before the governor.

"You are, no doubt, surprised," said he, "to behold me again within these walls. You have considered me a traitor, but I shall be able to prove to you that you have been deceived, and to show that I may be the means of saving this town from the cruelty of a vindictive foe."

"The man who, under the emotions of anger, seeks an enemy's camp," said Jaymul, "is to be suspected."

"But you cannot be ignorant that by seeking the enemy's camp, I may have obtained that information which will enable you to foil his approaches, and save the lives and properties of those under your government."

"Show me that you have done so before you expect that I should believe you are not a traitor."

"I have now sought you to make a proposal for the benefit of all within this fortress."

"Declare it."

"Upon certain conditions, I undertake to kill the Moslem Sovereign."

"What are they?"

"That you will give me your daughter in marriage."

"Had I twenty daughters I should not think it too great a reward for so signal a service. Destroy the tyrant who has led his troops before our walls, and I pledge myself to give you my daughter with an ample dowry."

"I promise, at least, to attempt his death, and nothing but my own will secure his safety."

"I need not tell you that you are believed to have deserted to the enemy from an impulse of revenge towards me. When once an impression of this kind is excited in the breasts of brave and honourable men, it is no easy thing to remove it. If you can accomplish what you propose, you will be immediately restored to the good opinion which, so far as now appears, you have justly forfeited."

The Rajpoot was sufficiently satisfied with his reception, but, when he desired to see the object of his attachment, her father replied :—

"No. You are still under the imputation of treachery; that imputation must be removed before you can have any intercourse with my daughter."

"Do you suspect my integrity?"

"I have no warranty for your honesty, and, therefore, till you show that your absence from the city was not dishonourable to you, I can look upon you in no other light than that of a traitor."

"Treat me as a traitor then, and order me to be flung from yonder battlements."

"No ! you have undertaken to prove your zeal for the welfare of your country, and I should be loth to deprive you of the opportunity."

"Will you believe me faithful if I make a vacancy in the Mogul sovereignty before the waning of another moon ?"

"The destruction of the Moslem king will restore you to my confidence, and to that of your countrymen."

The Rajpoot returned to Akbar's camp. His absence had been noticed. He was summoned before the Monarch. When he entered the presence, Akbar eyed him with keen and significant scrutiny, but the man did not blanch.

"Soldier," said the Emperor, "you were absent last night from the camp. What was the object of your absence ?"

"The king's interest."

"The king's interest is not to be promoted by a breach of discipline."

"I obtained admission into the fort and have done the base work of a spy for the benefit of my country's enemy."

The Emperor was silent for a moment, but his eye fixed with an intense expression of inquiry upon the traitor. "What did you learn ?" he at length inquired.

"That a sally will be made by some of the choicest troops of the garrison on the second morrow from the present. The governor is determined to suffer extermination rather than capitulate and has employed a secret assassin to take the Sovereign's life."

"Know you where he lurks ?"

"In the Moslem camp."

Akbar was not to be deceived by this flimsy artifice. He had too acute a perception of human motives to be persuaded that a man would thus gratuitously hazard his life for the interests of one to whom he was nationally an enemy, but he disguised his suspicions, and ordered the soldier to take his bow, in the use of which he was reported to be singularly expert and accompany him before the enemy's walls. The Emperor was attended by only a few followers ; a syce* led a horse behind his royal master.

When they were within bow-shot of the ramparts, seeing a group of the foe so near, the besieged crowded to the battlements, expect-

* A groom.

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ing that it was the preliminary of an assault. The governor was visible above the rest by his elevated stature.

"Now," said Akbar to the Rajpoot, "prove to me the truth of what you have lately represented by sending an arrow into the brain of the yonder chief."

The Rajpoot affected to comply and advanced gradually towards the syce, who was leading the Emperor's charger, and now stood nearly on a line with the royal group, a few yards to the left. The Rajpoot having placed himself beside this man, fixed an arrow in the string of his bow, and directed it towards the rampart. While the eyes of Akbar and his attendants were gazing upon the object towards which they expected every moment to see the arrow winged, the soldier, suddenly turning, discharged his shaft direct at the Sovereign. It pierced his shoulder and fixed in the bone. The Rajpoot instantly flung down his bow, drew his dagger, and stabbing to the heart the attendant who was holding his royal master's horse, vaulted upon its back, plunged his heels in its sides, and darted towards the city with the velocity of a thunderbolt.

The nobles stood amazed. Akbar's eye glanced fire, but he was silent, and walked back to the camp, where the arrow was with some difficulty extracted. He was unable to quit his tent for some days ; but within a fortnight the wound was healed.

Meanwhile, the Rajpoot, after he had discharged the arrow, rode to the city gate, and was immediately admitted. What he had done was reported to the governor, who immediately granted him an interview.

"I now come to claim my bride—my arrow has pierced the Moslem king."

"Is he slain?"

"It is impossible he should survive."

"It will be time to fulfil the conditions of a promise when it is proved that the contract has been completed according to the terms stipulated."

It was soon known in the besieged city that Akbar was recovering from his wound.

The Rajpoot was again summoned before the governor.

"You have failed," said Jaymul, "to perform your undertaking." The man's brow contracted. "My pledge is, therefore, cancelled ; and I now determine that you shall pay the penalty of a double treachery. Though a traitor to your country, had you been the successful instrument of its vengeance, however base the motives, your life should have been spared, and my child have become a

sacrifice : as it is you are not worthy of confidence, and therefore deserve to die."

He was immediately conducted to the Mahomedan camp, under a guard, with a letter from the governor to the Emperor, stating, that he gave up the traitor to be dealt with as the Mahomedan sovereign should deem proper. Akbar sent back the guard with a courteous message, and ordering one of the state elephants to be brought before him, commanded the traitor to stand forth. The man advanced with an undaunted countenance, expressing an utter contempt of death. He crossed his arms over his breast, and directed towards the monarch a look of defiance. At a signal from the royal hand, the elephant was urged forward by the mahout, and, upon reaching the criminal, it felled him to the earth with his trunk, placed its huge foot upon his body and instantly trod him to death.

The siege now proceeded with vigour. The Emperor gave orders that approaches should be made by a *sabat*, a description of defence for the besiegers peculiar to India. They were conducted in the following manner : "the zigzags, commencing at gun-shot distance from the fort, consisted of a double wall, and by means of blinds or stuffed gabions, covered with leather, the besiegers continued their approaches till they arrived near the walls of the place to be attacked. The miners then proceeded to sink their shafts, and carry on their galleries under ground, for the construction of the mines : in which, having placed the powder and blown up the works, the storming party rushed from the *sabat*, or superior galleries, and assaults the place." On the present occasion, two *sabats* or superior galleries having been constructed, two mines were carried, under bastions, at different spots."

Akbar being determined to obtain possession of the place, at whatever cost, daily inspected the working of the mines, which were prepared with great expedition. Several sallies were made by the besieged, which, though well directed and vigorously maintained, were invariably repulsed by the steady discipline of the Mogul troops.

Encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, the miners worked with incredible diligence and the soldiers displayed a valour against the frequent sorties of the besieged, which completely repelled the headlong valour of the Rajpoots. Akbar marked with his especial notice, not only every officer, but likewise every common soldier who distinguished himself ; and thus, besides securing the

* Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. II., page 230. Cf. Also *Elliot*, vol. v., p. 326. *Ed.*, I. 17.

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affection of his army, excited deeds of individual heroism and of united valour, as gratifying to him as they were astonishing to the foe.

Meanwhile, within the fort, considerable confusion prevailed at the progress which the Mahomedans were making in their approaches and at the unsuccessful issue of the sallies of the besieged. The governor's wife was daily on the ramparts encouraging the men. An attempt by the foe to scale the walls had been repelled with determined resolution by the garrison, during which the heroic matron had, with her own hands, hurled several Moslems from the battlements as they reached the summit. Anxious to reap that glory which is considered the exclusive inheritance of the other sex, she determined upon an act as desperate as it was uncommon.

"Jaymul," said she, "I will visit the enemy's camp, and try if a woman's arm cannot reach his heart."

"Go," said her husband, "if you think that you have a reasonable chance of ridding us of the foe. But what is your plan?"

"Merely to be conducted to the Mahomedan's tent; then trust to this arm and a woman's resolution for the issue."

The resolute Rajpootni arrayed herself in her most becoming attire and about dusk sought the hostile camp. She was still a handsome woman. Being stopped by the guard, she represented herself to be a minstrel, desirous of exhibiting the superiority of her art before the Mogul Emperor. She was alone, and there did not appear much risk in admitting a woman unaccompanied within the Mahomedan lines. It was announced to Akbar that a Hindoo musician was anxious to play before him. The monarch who, after the harassing fatigues of the day, was fond of seeking relaxation from the anxieties which his present undertaking naturally accumulated upon him, commanded her to be admitted. As she entered the royal presence, Akbar was extremely struck with her natural dignity of deportment and the commanding expression of her countenance. He instantly saw that she was not a common minstrel, and, at once suspecting treachery, gave orders that no one, on whatever pretence, either man or woman, should be admitted into the camp.

"Well, gentle dame," said the Sovereign, "what are your wishes?"

I haave heard that the Mogul Monarch is a munificent benefactor to those who have the good fortune to succeed in administering to his pleasures. I would attempt to do as much, being held to have great skill upon my native *vina*."

"A graceful instrument," said the Emperor. "Approach and try

your skill, which, if it be at all equal to your beauty, cannot fail to delight."

She approached him ; and Akbar having placed her on his right hand, bade her play watching her at the same time with so keen a survey that the Rajpootni began to fear she was detected. With an unruffled brow, however, she commenced tuning her *vina*, which is the Hindoo lute, and played an air with considerable skill. The sovereign was gratified. She played several airs with great taste and feeling. The enthusiasm of the performer was at length communicated to the Emperor ; and in the excess of his gratification, he was thrown off his guard. Seizing a favourable moment, when his eyes were withdrawn from her, she drew a very small taper dagger ; but before she could plunge it into the body of her intended victim, he had seized her wrist, and forced the instrument from her grasp.

"A very happy close to thy minstrelsy," said Akbar, with a severe smile.

"I have failed," said the heroic woman, undauntedly, "and am prepared for the issue. Give your orders, king, I am prepared to die. I did not make this attempt without weighing the penalty. I care not for the mode : you will see that I can defy your tortures ; and, to give you some idea of the spirit of that foe which you seek to overcome, take the solemn assurance of a doomed woman, that there is not a living soul behind yonder battlements that would not brave death in any shape to be avenged upon the despisers of their gods."

Akbar made no reply, but, ordering her to be placed under a strong guard in a vacant tent, on the following morning sent her with an escort to the gate of Chitore, telling her, as she quitted his camp, that the Emperor of the Moguls warred not with women. The haughty Rajpootni was deeply moved at her failure and the Mogul's magnanimity. It, however, did not alter her determination to accomplish his death, though at the expense of her own life. She felt no longer surprised that his troops were invincible, and himself so renowned ; and her hopes of forcing him to raise the siege began, from this moment, to decline. She discovered in Akbar the virtues of bravery and a contempt of death to a degree that would have done honour to a Rajpoot ; and besides those virtues, which he possessed in common with all brave men, she could not but perceive that he was endowed with some quality peculiarly his own. She expressed her fears to Jaymul that under such a leader the enemy must eventually prevail. "But we can die," she said, with energy, "fighting on our ramparts ; and their success, whenever it comes, will be recorded in characters of blood."

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"Wife!", said the governor, "we have no reason to despair yet. The garrison is still strong and resolute; we have provisions for at least five months' consumption, and long before that period it must be decided whether the Moslems or Hindoos are to be masters of Chitore."

"He, Jaymul, who could spare the life of one who attempted his, and give her safe conduct to her friends, is no ordinary man. We have more to dread from Akbar's magnanimity, than either from the number or bravery of his followers, though he is acknowledged to command the best disciplined armies in the East. What immortal glory would radiate from my brow if this arm had not failed to rid the world of so distinguished a foe."

"You are eloquent in his praises."

"Because he deserves all the good I can say of him and all the hatred I can feel towards him. Jaymul, I could barter my own life and that of all those of whose lives mine has been the source to send that man to the *Assuras*."

The next morning the governor and his wife were on the ramparts inspecting the defences; for, from the enemy's movements, they hourly expected an assault, against which every provision was made which prudent foresight could suggest. Whilst Jaymul was surveying the progress of new works that he had ordered to be raised behind some low bastions where he considered the fortifications weak, a sudden explosion was heard from before the walls which dismayed the besiegers. The shock was so great that all standing upon the ramparts were thrown upon their faces. A considerable part of the lowest wall had fallen and opened a practicable breach. A second explosion followed, still more terrible, and added to the ruin, opening another breach not less formidable. It was soon evident that the enemy had sprung two mines, and the besieged expected that the destruction of their ramparts was about to be followed by a general assault. They crowded the breach, to defend their city with a wall of human bodies. The enemy, however, did not storm the town, as was expected. The cause of this, although for a moment a matter of anxious conjecture, was soon ascertained. Two thousand of Akbar's choicest troops, prepared to storm, had advanced when the first mine exploded, under the supposition that both mines had been sprung at the same moment. The party immediately divided into two equal bodies, in order to enter both breaches at once. One of the mines only had ignited, and, when the party reached the other, they were scattered as with the shock of an earthquake. The ground opened beneath their feet; numbers were blown into the air; others had their limbs torn from the

quivering trunks, and a scene of consternation prevailed, altogether indescribable. Fifteen Mogul officers and above 400 men were killed.

This unforeseen disaster damped the energies of the storming parties. They paused until the confusion subsided, thus giving their enemies time to prepare for defence. They then advanced boldly—but not with elated hearts—to the breaches. They were received with unshrinking valour by the besieged. Every attempt to make good an entrance was withstood by men determined to die in defence of their walls. The Mahomedans were repulsed. They returned to the camp greatly dispirited, not covered with shame indeed, but without the glory of success. Akbar, conscious that the cause of failure was to be sought in the accident which had occurred previously to the assault being made, visited the men in person, encouraged them under their disheartening defeat, raised their sinking spirits, and animated them for fresh encounters.

The spirits of the besieged were so elated by their success and the destruction of the enemy that they began with extraordinary energy to repair the breaches, which by the next morning they had filled up with a thick wall of mud. This was a secure defence, for the moisture of the material rendered the surface so slippery that the difficulty of scaling such an impediment was so great as to render the attempt impracticable. This did not dismay the besiegers, who prepared to renew their attempts upon the town with increased activity. Akbar's was not a mind to be overcome by difficulties ; it became more elevated in proportion as impediments multiplied. He gave his orders with that calm earnestness of resolution which showed he would be satisfied with nothing short of complete success. His men evinced the greatest alacrity in their obedience to the orders of their officers and soon recovered from the effects of their late mischance. The Hindoos were no less assiduous in providing against all possible contingencies ; and, in the course of a few days, the works of Chitore were nearly as secure as before the opening of the breaches by the mines.

A few nights after the accident from the explosion of the mine, the Emperor, who had given orders that other works should be constructed, was in the batteries directing the workmen. While there, he observed the governor of Chitore superintending, by torchlight, the repairs of the walls, which were now nearly completed. Seizing a matchlock from one of the attendants, he directed it with so true an aim as to lodge a ball in Jaymul's forehead.* It was easy

* Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. 1., p. 328. Jehangir conferred on this matchlock the title of *Singram*. Ed., I. W.

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to perceive that the greatest confusion prevailed upon the ramparts of the besieged city. Persons were seen hurrying to and fro and the walls were soon crowded with troops and citizens. Akbar, from this moment, saw that the game was in his own hands. The death of their governor he knew would render the garrison despairing and reckless ; he consequently prepared for some of those dreadful eruptions so common among Rajpoot soldiers when driven to extremity.

Day had scarcely dawned, when his camp was attacked with a fury which nothing but the better discipline of his soldiers and great numerical superiority could have repelled. The Rajpoots, headed by their late governor's widow, fought with a desperation which, for the moment, bore down all opposition. The widow urged her horse with heedless fury towards Akbar's tent. An Omrah placing himself before her to oppose her further progress, she buried a short spear in his body, and, continuing her career, reached the royal pavilion. Here she was opposed by the guards, the foremost of whom struck her in the face with his sword ; but having speared him, she flung herself from the back of her charger, and, rushing into the tent, sprang towards the couch,—it was empty. With some difficulty she was secured, but not until she had wounded several of the guard and received a second severe wound in the neck, from which the blood flowed so copiously that she was obliged to relinquish the contest, becoming faint and unable to continue her exertions. By this time her followers had been nearly all cut off and few returned to the city to bear the lamentable tale of discomfiture.

Akbar entered his tent and saw the noble woman who had made such a brave effort to avenge her husband's death fainting upon the ground, reeking with her own blood and that of her foes. He instantly ordered her wound to be dressed and that she should be carefully attended during the night. He was charmed with her heroism, he revered her distress, and determined to offer very advantageous terms on the morrow if the garrison would capitulate. The obstinacy of the besieged had won his admiration and he was heard to say to a confidential officer that with such troops he would undertake to conquer the world.

Next morning, the captive widow rose from her couch and demanded to see the Emperor. She was immediately brought before him.

"Sovereign of the Moguls," she said, undauntedly, "I have thrice sought your life. I have freely braved your vengeance. I am prepared for the infliction which I have provoked and my failure deserves. What death am I to die?"

"Allah forbid, lady, that I should punish any one for trying to

take away the life of a foe in honourable warfare. It is but natural that you should seek to accomplish the death of him who has destroyed your husband, not from feelings of enmity, for I admired his bravery and esteemed his patriotism, but as a melancholy means to a glorious end. His death is one of those sad contingencies inseparable from a state of active hostility. I have now to propose to you terms for the capitulation of Chitore."

"If I have influence to decide upon a proposal that involves the dishonour of my countrymen, I will bid them resist till there shall no longer remain among them an arm to strike."

"But, lady, the terms I intend to offer will be alike honourable to you and the inhabitants of yonder fortress."

"No terms from the sovereign of the Moguls can be honourable to those whom he so irreparably has wronged. I will listen to no accommodation short of disbanding your army and leaving the city of Chitore to enjoy the peace which you have wantonly interrupted. I am now in your power. I seek not to stay your vengeance. Wreak it upon me, with the flush and glow of tyrant's satisfaction. I will brave you with my last gasp of life ; I will defy you with my expiring breath ; but never could I listen to terms from the man who has profaned the sacred sanctuary of the Hindoos and cast down upon the threshold of their temples the representatives of their gods."

"Lady, I would show you the difference between the magnanimity of the Mahomedan and the Hindoo. You have thrice sought my life with an asperity of passion, sanctioned only by what you consider the sacred obligations of revenge. You have refused to listen to terms of honourable accommodation. You have expressed towards me the deadliest animosity. You are in my power, and I could in a moment prevent all further exercise of your hatred ; but I forbear. You are free. I have commanded an escort to be ready once more to bear you to the gates of your native city."

The Rajpootni turned her head ; a tear for an instant glazed her eye, but the warm glow of pride dried it in its crystal formation and it ceased to flow. She uttered not a word, but silently quitted the tent, making a haughty salaam to the Emperor as she passed ; mounted a litter which had been prepared to convey her, and in a short time was once more within the gates of Chitore. Her heart now swelled with thoughts of desperation and of death. She acknowledged the magnanimous forbearance of her enemy and accepted life only to perform a last and awful duty among her family and her countrymen. Her soul dilated with the solemn purpose which she was about to fulfil—the crisis had arrived.

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The inhabitants of Chitore now gave themselves up to despair. Their governor was dead, a great number of the garrison had been slain in the late sally, and no hope of rescue appeared. The effect was dreadful. The fear of falling into the enemy's hands drove many to deeds of desperation only heard of among those whose minds have been obfuscated by the gloom of that superstition of which idolatry is the monstrous parent. Whole families destroyed themselves, dying in each other's arms, and with their expiring breaths cursing those who had induced them to embrace such a dreadful alternative. There was scarcely a house that was not filled with the dying and the dead. The groans of death within mingled with the clamours of war without and the great conqueror of nature was about to reap a full harvest of triumph.

Day after day passed and these scenes were repeated. Corpses lay in the streets and "there was none to bury them," so that the steams of pestilence began to rise and load the air with the elements of destruction. For two or three days the heroic widow of Jaymul, who now directed the defence of Chitore, was confined to her couch ; but the moment she was able to rise, she quitted her house and repaired to the ramparts. The despair of the citizens had reached her ears ; she heard it in moody silence, but calmly gave her orders, and, summoning her chief officers, among whom was Peirup Singh, she said—

"The enemy are invincible and we have nothing now but to prepare for our final charge. I need not tell you how the Rajpoot comports himself at this hour of extremity."

"Nay, why this despair?", asked Peirup Singh. "We are not yet vanquished. The garrison is still numerous, our soldiers are brave, and our enemies enfeebled by the late conflict."

"They are mighty in their strength ; we are only mighty in our weakness—they to vanquish, but we to perish. I need not bid you prepare, because I know none of our blood can be backward to meet death as becomes the brave."

Peirup Singh, though a courageous man, was by no means prepared for such an issue as the Rajpootni's widow seemed to contemplate. He loved her daughter, and, with the prospect of enjoyment before him, did not precisely see the necessity of that desperate alternative to which the late governor's relict alluded. Even should they be obliged to capitulate, the magnanimity of Akbar was too well known to warrant the supposition that he would treat the vanquished with tyranny ; the Rajpoot, therefore, thought that a capitulation in time to so generous an enemy would be their safest policy.

When he expressed these sentiments to the lady who directed the movements of the besieged, she said with an indignant glance at the proposer of so degrading an act of pusillanimity—

"What ! does the suitor of my daughter make a proposal so unworthy of his race? It is enough ; henceforward you are a stranger to my home."

She turned from him and would not hear his reply. Having given her orders in case an assault should be made by the foe, she visited the houses of those whom despair had urged to fatal extremities. The sad sight only nerved her heart to fiercer resolution. She looked upon the dead without a sigh. She conversed with the dying as if they were about to be hushed in a joyous sleep and there was neither regret nor anguish in their expiring groans. The dead bodies scattered about the streets and exhaling the elements of death, moved her not to an emotion. Her soul was passion-cased—it was absorbed by one intense feeling. Upon entering her home, she was met by her elder daughter.

"Kherla," she said calmly, "death has been doing much unsightly work among us. The conquerors will not find their garland of victory a beautiful wreath. The foul steams of decaying mortality will hang upon and blight it. My child, we must go to another change. Are you prepared to quit a base world for a brighter? *Agni** must be our guide to the mutation which awaits us when these poor bodies shall have become ashes."

"My mother, I am ready to perform the conditions of my destiny. I desire not to exist longer than I can live in the freedom to which I was born ; and, rather than become the captive of the Moslem, I am willing to encounter the flames which shall give me a release from those bonds the foe are preparing to cast upon us."

The mother embraced her child. The younger girl had overheard this conversation and her heart palpitated. She had hitherto found life an acceptable and sweet possession. She, therefore, felt no desire to embrace the faggot and have her spirit dismissed from her body on wings of flame. She was full of youth and health, highly susceptible of enjoyment, with a fine flow of animal spirits ; and to her, therefore, death was at once a terror and an evil. She was summoned into the presence of her parent, who said with a calm but stern voice—

"Girl, you must prepare for your last hour. The summons of *Yama* has reached us and we have no choice. When he calls,

* The God of Fire.

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obedience is our duty and the performance of our duty cannot but be a blessing. We must perish, my child."

The poor girl shuddered but did not utter a word, knowing how ill the stern temper of her only surviving parent could brook resistance. She bent acquiescently, but the tear started into her eyes as she turned from the bold mother to conceal her emotions. Having dismissed her children, the heroic matron began to prepare her mind for the approaching sacrifice.

The rite of the Johur was now determined on. The whole garrison, amounting to five thousand, three having already perished, were assembled. The governor's widow told them that the last effort was to be made. Nothing remained between subjugation and death. They heard her without a murmur, but with that profound silence which, in a multitude, betokens an inviolable unity of purpose and began to assume the saffron robe. They were soon prepared to sally from the gate. Peirup Singh was among them. He looked defiance but spoke not. Their swords gleamed in the sun. The stern Rajpootni gazed with a glancing eye of pride, as she beheld the brave band going forth to the sacrifice, knowing that their swords would be steeped in the blood of their foes. She waved her hand when all were ready ; the gates were thrown open and they marched forth to the fatal conflict. Their shouts were deafening as they pushed forward like a living deluge. The Moguls knew what they had to expect from the desperate valour of these devoted soldiers. The onset was terrific. Death followed everywhere in the track of those unshrinking assaulters. There was no quarter accepted. The moment a Rajpoot was taken prisoner he fell upon his own sword. The carnage among the Mahomedans was dreadful. They fell by hundreds before the swords of those infuriated men who had devoted themselves to destruction. The Hindoos fought against an enemy more than five times their number with a determination that spread consternation through the Mahomedan ranks. Even Akbar was amazed. He appeared in person in the thickest of that awful struggle and was twice wounded by a Rajpoot sabre ; but his armour protected his life and the half naked bodies of his foes exposed them to the invincible force of his sword.

For several hours the sanguinary strife continued, until almost every Rajpoot was slain. Upwards of two thousand Mahomedans were left dead upon the field and full twice that number wounded. The brave Hindoos had raised a memorable trophy round their bodies never to be forgotten. Akbar visited the field of carnage. He was astonished at the impetuous and unflinching valour dis-

played by the foe. He dropped a tear, as his eye glanced over the field covered with slain. He had obtained a dearly-bought victory. It was evident that, had the enemy met him upon equal terms, with them would have remained the honours of triumph. The sacrifice had indeed been great, but the victory was complete. As soon as the wasted energies of his troops should be recruited, he determined to make an assault upon the town if the terms which he was disposed to offer were rejected.

Among the few Rajpoots who had survived the carnage of that sanguinary day was Peirup Singh. He sought the lovely Kherla Nani, hoping that she would fly with him from peril to happiness, but it was evident he knew her not.

"Kherla," said he, "all is lost. We have done everything that brave men could do and Chitore is at the foe's mercy. Let us fly, my bride, while the means of escape remain to us. I can take you to a place of safety."

"Who are you?" calmly asked the noble girl.

"Is it possible you can ask such a question of Peirup Singh, your accepted bridegroom, who is prepared to convey you from this scene of carnage to a home where happiness awaits you?"

"Peirup Singh, the bridegroom of Kherla Nani, would not dishonour his kindred. The daughter of Jaymul can never unite herself with one who, after having assumed the saffron robe, has run from the foe and hid his recreant head behind stone walls. Dost thou fear to die, Peirup Singh?"

"No; but I deem life a gift not to be rashly thrown away when it may be appreciated and enjoyed. If good can be purchased by the sacrifice it is our duty to yield it up; otherwise such a sacrifice becomes a foolish and culpable suicide."

"Is not the avoidance of disgrace a good? Is escape from death, with the brand of infamy upon a man's brow, no evil? He who would hesitate between life and disgrace has a petty soul; but he that would accept the one with the polluted inheritance of the other is the worst of recreants. We never can be united, Peirup Singh."

The rejected Rajpoot was deeply mortified—she would not listen to his expostulations; but quitting his presence, turned upon him a look of withering scorn. He was confounded. Between shame and passion he stood aghast. He remained for some time irresolute, when on a sudden the apartment was filled with a thick curling smoke. He rushed into a court towards a passage whence the stifling vapour proceeded. The awful truth at once burst upon his sight. The funeral fire had been kindled in a large subterranean chamber,

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in which all the members of the family, except the late governor's widow and her younger daughter, had assembled, to the number of a hundred and forty-seven. Peirup Singh looked into the opening and beheld the beautiful Kherla waving a torch with which she had just ignited the combustibles strewed over the apartment. In a few moments the smoke shut out all from his sight and the crackling flames prevented his ear from catching the groans of the dying. The forked fires rose to the skies with a horrid hissing, as if of demons triumphing in the frightful consummation of death. Both the sight and the sound were horrible. There was no rescuing the infatuated girl from that destruction upon which she had voluntarily rushed. She had already become the virgin bride of death. Young and numerous were the bridesmaids of that fiery marriage. Peirup Singh quitted the scene of horror with a deeply smitten heart.

Akbar sent a Vakeel, offering to the besieged most liberal terms, which were indignantly rejected.

"Tell your king," was the reply, "that we accept no terms from him who seeks to dispossess us of our homes. We deem that capitulation is a word only admitted into the vocabulary of cowards."

The Vakeel returned and Akbar determined to storm the town. On that very day two mines were sprung, which made a breach in the walls in two several places as before. The heroine who now commanded Chitore was undismayed at what she saw. The whole garrison had been cut off except about two hundred men. Multitudes of citizens had destroyed themselves and their families to escape falling into the conqueror's hands. She, however, summoned as many of the inhabitants as were in a condition to make a final effort, determined to offer resistance to the enemy so long as there remained a man within the fortress able and willing to fight.

The moment the breaches were formed the heroic widow ordered new works to be raised, and thus a slight defence was opposed to the foe in an incredibly short space of time. High wooden frames filled with mud had been previously prepared and were instantly placed in the openings of the rampart. Upon the battlements stood a small but determined band, with large vessels containing a boiling liquid of the consistence of pitch, ready to pour it upon the besiegers' heads as they attempted to scale the shattered walls. A number of females armed with missiles likewise crowded the ramparts, determined to take their part in the close of this desperate game. All the principal women within the fortress had already suffered themselves to be sacrificed by their husbands, sons, or

brothers ; those that remained were only a few who had escaped the general massacre to die in the breaches of their native city.

While the inhabitants were working at the breaches, Peirup Singh came before the mother of his beloved. She moved from him with a glance of scorn.

"Nay," said he, "turn not from a despairing man. I come here to redeem that honour which you consider I have forfeited. The master-passion within me is now quelled and I yield to the sadder circumstances of my destiny."

"The man," said the Rajpootni, "who prefers life to glory deserves not to die the warrior's death. There are enough on these battlements to leave a record for the dark page of history of the desperate defence of Chitore. You may go and propitiate the conqueror and live with the galling iron of bondage entering into your recreant soul. We seek no aid from Peirup Singh."

The Rajpoot bit his lip, but stirred not. The hurried glance of his eye, which darted like a sunbeam towards the advancing hosts, expressed the fierce resolve which swelled his heart at this moment of advancing peril. It was the glance of a bayed tiger. He drew his sword and walked with a deliberate but firm step to the least protected part of the breach.

The enemy advanced at a quick trot and poured forward like a sudden irruption of the sea. When the foremost reached the trench the shock was terrific. They were forced back by the besieged with a resolution which nothing could withstand. The scalding preparation was poured upon their heads. This new mode of resistance confounded them. They drew back from the rampart and renewed their attack only to meet with a similar reception. Time after time they were repulsed, but the besiegers being greatly exposed in the breaches suffered extremely from the enemy's matchlocks. Peirup Singh fought with the fury of a gored lion. He was twice severely wounded, but did not retire from the station he had chosen. Evening put an end to the struggle and the Mahomedans were obliged to retreat.

Their temporary success elated the besieged, though it was evident that they could not maintain a successful opposition for another day. Their numbers had been much diminished by the enemy's well-directed fire and the temporary defences were considerably weakened by continual assaults. Nevertheless, it was determined that resistance should be offered so long as there was a man to stand in the trench.

Next morning the attack was renewed. Many of the Mahomedans were hurled headlong from the walls in attempting to scale them, but

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were succeeded by fresh troops equally resolute ; and at length, in spite of the exertions of the despairing Hindoos, they obtained a footing and the trench was carried. Peirup Singh, having killed several of the foe, was shot through the brain with a matchlock, and fell dead into the ditch. The heroic Rajpootni widow, who, though dangerously wounded, still stood upon the battlements encouraging the brave defenders of Chitore and rushed forward to meet death in the trench, but the enemy generously dropped their swords as she advanced and attempted to take her alive. Perceiving the intention, she instantly retreated towards the town, followed by a party of Akbar's soldiers. Though still reeking with her blood, she gained her home before them, and, having entered it, securely fastened the door. Summoning her only remaining daughter, she cried—

“ My child, the moment is come when we must consummate our triumph. We shall not fall alive into the hands of the foe.”

She seized a torch which had been kept lighted to meet such a melancholy contingency. The daughter had not the mother's heroism—she shrieked as she advanced towards the pile, and would have retreated, but her resolute parent, with the last collected effort of strength, dragged her onward. “There is no alternative but death, my child,” she said, calmly. She reached the pyre, took the trembling girl in her arms, ascended the fatal platform, applied the torch, and in a few moments both mother and daughter were wrapped in the embrace of death. The soldiers entered, having burst open the door, and found their prey had escaped them. They gazed upon the flaming pile, upon which oil had been poured to excite it to quicker combustion. They were deprived of their victim. The flames were singing a fearful requiem over her ashes. It was a horrible sight to witness the combined consummation of superstition and despair.

The fortress was soon filled with the victorious Mahomedans. Those Hindoos who had not adopted the desperate resource of self-immolation and had survived the carnage, thronged to the temples, the entrances of which they barricaded, determined to die in their sanctuaries rather than yield to the upholders of a different faith. Akbar himself entered the town and ordered the temples to be forced. They who had sought sanctuary thither perished without a murmur. They attempted no resistance, but suffered themselves to be slaughtered like animals for the sacrifice. Several thousands thus became martyrs to their prejudices and died with a smile of defiance upon their lips, without raising a hand in self-defence. The Emperor, however, did not evince that bigoted zeal which has so much dis-

graced the religion of every country in which it has been actively displayed, but spared the venerable monuments of an ancient, though besotted, superstition. His taste admired the structures, whilst his soul condemned the profane rites which they had been reared to consecrate. And though he destroyed the monstrous idols of the heathens, he allowed their temples to stand, many of them noble monuments of Hindoo talent and architectural skill.

When the fortress was fully in possession of Akbar, he gazed with astonishment upon the prodigal sacrifice of human life which had occurred in almost every house. The Johur had taken place and many thousand females of all ages signalised the detestation of their foes by submitting to a voluntary death. Multitudes of either sex surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others on the flaming pile. Blood flowed in torrents. The steams of death rose to the fair heavens, which looked down calmly and beautifully, but through which glanced an omnipotent eye upon the violence, the follies, and the delinquencies of men.

So great had been the destruction that little treasure was found by the conquerors within the fortress. They who perished by a voluntary decease had taken care previously to consume or destroy everything of value which they possessed. Even the treasures of the temples had been disposed of, so that the conquerors entered a depopulated town, rendered a scene of utter desolation, a fit abode only for the reptile and beast of prey.

That portion of the garrison which had last sallied from the gates to die fighting for their country and its shrines perished in a cause which they imagined would end in their transportation to higher scenes of enjoyment in new states of being. They first purified themselves with water, offered adoration to the Divinity, made benefactions to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi* in their casques, and the *saligram* round their necks, emblems of death and the grave ; and having cased themselves in armour, and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*, a funeral coronet, round their heads, embraced each other for the last time and rushed forth to perish in the fierce conflict of arms.

As Akbar walked through the now desolate streets of Chitore he was deeply affected. Disfigured bodies, black and putrid, and exhaling the horrible odours of decay, lay before him in all their revolting deformity. The corpses of those who fell by their own hands had been just put under the surface of the ground, and were seen protruding through the earth from their superficial graves, filling the air with the seeds of pestilence. Women and children were still

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among the dead and dying, at the last extremity, imploring piteously for a cup of water to slake the raging thirst that was consuming them and adding intolerable torment to their expiring agonies.

All the corpses were ordered to be collected together and consumed upon one vast pile and fires were kept burning for days to purify the air and cleanse the polluted town.

Such were the frightful circumstances under which the Mogul emperor became master of Chitore. It is, in truth, melancholy to contemplate the horrors which frequently follow on the heels of human ambition. It seems to look upon the sanguinary devastations of war as a sort of legalised license to destruction, and they therefore fail to excite our sympathies ; but if we consider what an awful amount of human beings have been cut off by the sword, or by those scourges so often the frightful handmaids of war, pestilence and famine, we should be startled at the prodigious total. Animals destroy each other singly, and in obedience to an irresistible instinct to support their own lives, which, to them, is the greatest boon of heaven, because they have no prospects beyond ; but the rational portion of God's creatures destroy each other by large masses and in mighty sums merely substantiate the sordid calculations of interest, to appease their base passions, or to realize the aims of a bloated ambition.

Akbar having done all in his power to alleviate the miseries of the few surviving native inhabitants of Chitore commanded the walls to be repaired, appointed Asaf Khan governor of the fortress, leaving with him a numerous garrison, and returned with the rest of his army to his capital.*

AN ACCOUNT OF DACCA AND ITS COTTON MANUFACTURES

Dacca is situated on the Booreegunga, formerly a branch of the Ganges, but now one of the several channels, through which the Brahmaputra discharges its waters into the Megna. It stands on the northern bank of this river, extending along it to a distance of about four miles, and is surrounded inland, partly by comparatively high ground covered with jungle, and partly by low rice fields, which are inundated to a considerable depth during the rainy season.

* The above story is no picture drawn from the imagination but is based on facts which find ample corroboration in every history of Rajputana, from Colonel Tod's downwards. It is reproduced from Rev. H. Caunter's *Romanic of Indian History*, with some alterations and the proper names correctly put. Ed., I. W.

Like most native towns in Bengal, it is very irregularly built. Its streets and lanes are long and narrow, and lined with brick houses and thatched huts, erected close to each other and placed without any regard to uniformity. In some of the bazaars occupied by certain castes, as weavers, goldsmiths, and shell-cutters, the style of architecture is peculiar, many of the houses of three or four stories in height, having only a frontage of eight or ten feet, while the side walls, unperforated either by doors or windows, extend back to a distance frequently of sixty or seventy feet. The extremities only of these buildings are roofed, the middle part of the enclosure of each house being converted into a small open court. The dwellings of the European residents are large and well built and give to the town a somewhat imposing appearance on approaching it from the south. Most of them stand on the bank of the Booreegunga, and have in front, gardens upon terraces, the walls of which are washed by the river in the season of inundation. The population, consisting of Hindoos and Mahomedans, with a few English, Armenians, Greeks, and descendants of Portuguese, was computed in the year 1838 at 68,000. Some idea of the present condition of Dacca and of its rank among Indian towns may be formed from the following enumeration of its public works, places, institutions, and establishments in the year 1838. They comprised ten bridges, including an iron suspension one across a creek and its branches which intersect the town, thirteen landing-places (ghauts) at the river, twelve bazaars for the sale of articles of food, one public square or market-place, seven police-stations, the Jail, Magistrate's court, civil court, treasury and office of the collector of revenue, office of the commissioner of revenue, post office, native hospital, lunatic asylum, vaccine institution, dispensary, fund for the relief of the poor, conservancy establishment, municipal committee of Europeans and natives for improving the town, college for the education of natives, English Protestant Church, Roman Catholic Church, Armenian Church, Greek Church, Baptist Chapel, 119 Hindoo temples or places of worship of different sects, 180 Mahomedan mosques, shrines, and places of religious ceremonies, the cantonment for a regiment of native infantry and detachment of artillery, government depot of elephants for the army, the office of the department of Public Works and buildings and commissariat office. Its principal Mahomedan public edifices are the *Lāl Bāgh*, or palace (now in ruins) of the Moghul governor; three buildings formerly used as caravansaries; the *Edgah*, or public place of prayer at the festival of the *Eed*; and the *Hossainee Dalan*, where

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the Mohurrun ceremonies are performed. Dacca, under the name of Jehangirnuggur, succeeded Rajmahal as the capital of Bengal in 1608—a distinction which it continued to possess till 1704, when the seat of government was removed from it to Moorshidabad. It has long been the principal seat of the cotton manufacture of Bengal, and is mentioned by Manrique, Tavernier, and other travellers during the seventeenth century, as a town of great trade* and “a mart that was frequented by people of every nation.”† The English, Dutch, and French had formerly factories here for the exportation of muslins to Europe. Weaving and embroidery, though they have greatly declined since the last century, and are carried on to some extent, and still constitute the principal branches of industry of the place. The present number of weavers’ houses is estimated at 750.

Dacca, on being constituted the capital of Bengal in 1608, soon became also the principal emporium of the eastern part of the province. Tavernier mentions that most of the wealthy merchants of Rajmahal settled in it at this time. The greater part of the trade of Sunargong, Serripore, and Bacola, was transferred to it during the latter part of the seventeenth century. It became the great depôt of the cotton manufactures of the country, and a general mart for rice, sugar, salt, betel-nut, tobacco, &c. It exported these articles to the upper provinces of India, and imported from thence wheat, pulse, raw cotton, and woollen cloths. Salt was sent to Assam, and otter skins, shell bracelets, and ornaments of coral, amber, and tortoise-shell to Bhotan and Thibet. Muga-silk, aloe-wood, and lac, were received from the former, and musk, chowrees, and *woosh* (woollen cloth) from the two latter places. The goods sold for the markets of Arrakan and Pegu were betel-nut, tobacco, muslins, jewellery, &c., while the articles imported from them were gold dust, raw cotton, catechu, orpiment, sappan wood, &c. To Ceylon, the Maldive Islands, and the Coromandel coast, rice was the principal article of export. From the two former, tortoise-shell, coral, cowries, and chank shells, were imported; but the balance of trade to the Indian Peninsula, being then in favour of Bengal, silver specie was received from it in exchange, and in this way it is supposed that the Arcot currency was introduced into the province of Dacca. Mixed cotton and silk goods, both woven and embroidered, inferior muslins mentioned under the names of *Mulmuls China Sonargan*, *Seerbunds Sonargan*, and *Dacca terindams*, *baftas*, sugar, preserved

* Tavernier's *Travels*, translated by J. P., London, 1684, Part II., Book I., Ch. VIII

† Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, Vol. II, Chap. XCIX.

fruits, cheese, indigo, and soap constituted the principal exports to Bassora and Jidda.

The East India Company, as has already been mentioned, had a factory at Dacca, in the beginning of 1666, which is four years earlier than the date usually assigned as that of the introduction of muslins into England. It was subordinate to the factory at Hoogly, which was then the principal one in Bengal.*

By a *perwannah* issued by the Nawab Shaista Khan in 1672, the English in Bengal were confirmed in the commercial privileges previously granted in their favour by the Sultan Sooja, viz., that of carrying on a free trade on the annual payment of 3,000 rupees to Government. In this edict the Mogul officers throughout the province are enjoined to aid the agents of the English "in getting in their due debts from any weavers and merchants that may really appear to be indebted to them, without giving any protection to any such person so indebted, whereby they may in any ways be wronged." In this year, however, in consequence of a misunderstanding between the Nawab and the agents of the Dutch factory, obstacles were thrown in the way of the general trade with Europeans, and the exportation of goods by the English was therefore limited. Various arbitrary taxes were subsequently imposed on the factory agents by the Nawab Fedai Khan; but in 1678, on their presentation of a *nuzzur* of 21,000 rupees to the Sultan Mahomed Azim, then Governor of Bengal, they were relieved from all imposts, and permitted to carry on a free trade as formerly. The obtainment of the imperial firman and the increase of the investments, induced the Court of Directors, in 1681-2, to make Bengal independent of Madras, in their commercial transactions. It is stated that the total value of Indian calicoes imported into England in 1678 was £160,000. A great increase, however, in the trade, appears to have taken place during the three following years, for we find that the amount of stock transmitted by the Court of Directors for investment in Bengal in 1681 was £230,000. Of this amount, however, the sum only of £16,000 was sent to Dacca. The goods exported included, besides calicoes and muslins, taffaties, and floretta yarn. In 1686, during the second period of the Nawab Shaista Khan's administration in Bengal, the agents of the Dacca factory, in consequence of a dispute that had occurred between the Company's sepoys and the Mogul troops at Hoogly, were prohibited from carrying on their trade. And in November,

* The other factories under this establishment were Belasore, Coimbasar, Malda and Patna.

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1688, on the occasion of Captain Heath's attack on Balasore, Messrs Eyre and Braddyll, the Company's agents at Dacca, were confined in the factory by the Nawab Bahadur Khan. In reporting their imprisonment to Job Charnock they state :—"The Nabob's *Cutwall*, and about three hundred gunmen lie in and about our house, who seem mightily civil to us, and hath given us the liberty of four or five servants, and to eat and drink, but not to stir out on any account."* They were subsequently treated with greater rigour, and kept in irons until July, 1689, when they were liberated by the Nawab Ibrahim Khan. The Company intended to seize Chittagong and Dacca, their object being to retain permanent possession of the former and hold the latter for a time while they dictated terms to the Mogul Emperor. Their complaints against the Nawab were the breach of firmans, the extortions of the Government officers, and the seizure of their property—the loss of the latter at the Dacca factory being "on account of *Picars*, 40,000 rupees." The only recognized place of trade belonging to the Company about this time was the factory of Chuttanuttee, built by Job Charnock, in 1691, afterwards fortified, and designated Fort William, in 1699. Between the years 1696 and 1699 all the out factories of Bengal, as those in the other parts of the province were called, were closed. Goods of every kind brought from the interior were there purchased clandestinely, through native agents employed for the purpose. This interruption to trade, however, does not appear to have prevented either the Company or private merchants from procuring the finer kinds of Dacca muslins for exportation to Europe, for we find mention made at this time of thirty shillings being paid in England for a yard of muslin, which is described as being "after all only the shadow of a commodity," a remark which, though no doubt intended as a disparagement, was, on the contrary, an acknowledgment of the fineness of these fabrics.

In 1700, in order to encourage British manufactures, an act of Legislature was passed prohibiting the importation into England of all wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk or herba, of Persia, China, or the East Indies. Among the goods thus prohibited, we find enumerated the following Bengal muslins, viz., *mulmuls*, *abrowaks* (*abrawans*), *junays* (*Jhunays*), *rehing* (*rang*), *terindam* (*turundams*), *tanjeb*s (*tunzebs*), *jamdamnees* (*jamdanees*), *doorea*, and *cossas* (*Khasa*). In this year, Sir Edward Lyttleton, on behalf of the new or English Company, obtained leave to build

* *Voyage from Bengal to Madras, from November 1688 to March, 1689.*—(See Alexander's *East India Magazine*, Vol. XII. 1836).

factories at Dacca and Balasore, on the condition that the Company paid 3,000 rupees to the Nawab of Bengal for every ship they despatched. It does not, however, appear that he availed himself of the permission thus granted as regards Dacca at least, as we find no mention of any establishment here in the subsequent notices of the English Company's concerns.

In 1701, a duty of 15 per cent. was imposed on muslins, which, though it greatly reduced the profits of the Company, did not prevent them from importing these fabrics.* In 1702, the two companies were united, and, by the deed of union, the Dacca factory belonging to the old or London Company was transferred, with their other property, to the joint company, now styled "the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies." From 1703 to 1709, the fine muslins of Bengal, particularly *mulmuls* and *dooreas* appear to have been in great request in England. The two companies, though united, appear to have been still separately engaged in winding up their former concerns; and we find them sending out instructions for the disposal of their property, the surplus of which they order to be remitted to Bengal, and invested in muslins of the kinds above mentioned. In 1717, the Emperor Furroksheer granted a firman, conceding extensive privileges in trade to the English and it appears to have been in consequence of the protection thus afforded that a new factory was built at Dacca in 1725. From this time down to 1756, the business of the Company at the Dacca factory was carried on without interruption. On the capture of Calcutta by Soorajoo-Dowlah in 1756, the Dacca factory was taken possession of by the Nawab's troops. Mr. Becher, the chief, seven Europeans, four ladies, and twenty-seven sepoy were detained as prisoners, but were afterwards allowed, through the mediation of the French agent, to proceed to Fultah, where the English from Calcutta had assembled. In terms of the treaty executed by the Nawab in February 1757, the factory was restored and compensation granted for the loss of property sustained by the Company and their servants.

The Dutch appear to have had the principal share of the foreign trade at Dacca in 1666. Speaking of their factory at the beginning of that year, Tavernier observes :—"The Hollanders, finding that their goods were not safe in the ordinary houses of Dacca, have built a very fair house."† He mentions that they had a

* See Grant's *History of the East India Company*.

† Tavernier's *Travels*, Part II, Book I., page 55.

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number of vessels of their own to transport their goods from the interior, and that they were frequently obliged to employ others "whereby many people get a good livelihood." Thevenot states, a few years afterwards, that the Dutch and English factories were substantial buildings* ; and, speaking of the vessels that sailed from Dacca to different parts of the Bay of Bengal, he observes that the Dutch "make good use of them for commerce."† According to Bernier, they exported large quantities of goods to Japan as well as to Europe. Like the English, they appear to have often suffered from the oppression of the Nawabs. In 1672 they were interdicted from trading, as has already been mentioned, and for a considerable time their business was secretly carried on by native agents. Their factory appears to have been closed for a considerable time prior to 1742, between which year and 1753 it is stated by the Nawab Nusserrat Jung to have been re-opened. In 1781 it was seized by the English and the chief made a prisoner.

The French settled in Bengal in 1688,‡ but did not commence to trade at Dacca until 1726. At first they purchased their goods through native brokers, but, in the time of Nowazish Mahomed Khan (between the years 1740 and 1742), two European agents came to Dacca, and obtained permission to build a factory. They possessed, in addition to this establishment, a *gunge* or market-place in the town and some houses at Tezgong ; also a subordinate factory or lodge at Jugdea, in the Tipperah district, where an European agent and a few sepoy were stationed. On the capitulation of Pondicherry in 1778, the factory at Dacca was taken possession of by the English, but was restored by the treaty of peace of January, 1783. After a lapse of ten years, it was again seized by the English, but was delivered back at the Peace of Amiens. In 1803, it was re-possessioned for a third time and was held until 1815, when it was finally made over to its original owners. The whole property, consisting of the factory or lodge, a house at Tezgong, and a piece of ground in the town, containing twenty-six huts upon it, was sold by the French Government to people in Dacca in 1830. The goods exported by the French Company appear to have chiefly consisted of plain and striped muslins. In the bills of lading of five vessels that arrived in France from Bengal in 1742, we find, among a great variety of cotton goods, the following enumerated, viz., 14,340 pieces of *casses* (*Ahasus*), 12,680 of *malle-*

* Thevenot's *Travels*, Part III, page 67.

† Bernier's *Travels*—Chapter on Bengal.

‡ Chandernagore was ceded by Aurangzebe to the French in this year.

SELECTIONS

molles (mulmuls), 7,199 of *tunjehs, (tansehs)*, 6,080 of *terindans* and *terindins (turundam)*, 5,280 of *doreas (doorrees)*. 243 of *nensognes (nyansooks)*, 1,252 pieces of different embroideries of Dacca and 10 of *Jamdanis*. From 1746 to 1755, inclusive, the French exported cloths to the amount of 28½ lacs of rupees (£356,250), and to that of 9½ lacs (£112,500) between 1765 and 1771.

The aggregate value of the cloth trade of Dacca in the year 1753 was estimated by the Commercial Resident in 1800 as follows :—

FOR THE EMPEROR OF DELHI

	Arcot Rs.	£
Plain and flowered muslins, and cloths wrought in silver	100,000	12,500

FOR THE NAWAB OF MOORSHIDABAD

Fabrics of various kinds for the use of the Nawab and his Court ...	300,000	37,500
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FOR JUGGUTH SETH* AT MOORSHIDABAD

Fine and coarse cloths for the home trade	150,000	18,750
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FOR TOORANEES†

Cloths of various kinds, for the markets of the Upper Provinces	100,000	12,500
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FOR PATHANS

Cloths of various kinds for the markets of the Upper Provinces ...	150,000	18,750
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FOR ARMENIANS

Cloths of various kinds for the Bassora, Mocha and Jidda markets ...	500,000	62,500
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FOR MOGULS

Cloths of various kinds partly for home consumption and partly for the Bassora, Mocha, and Jidda Markets	400,000	50,000
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FOR HINDOOS

Cloths of various kinds for home consumption	200,000	25,000
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FOR THE ENGLISH COMPANY

Cloths of various kinds for exportation to Europe	350,000	43,750
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* "The head of a Gentoo family of the weaver tribe or caste," who was at this time the most eminent banker in Hindustan. He had agents for the purpose of drawing and remitting money in all the principal trading towns of the empire. This introduced him into the political intrigues of the Durbar at Moorshidabad, where he and his family lived with the retinue and magnificence of princes.

† Merchants from Turan—"the country beyond the Oxus, from Persia."

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FOR ENGLISH TRADERS

Cloths of various kinds for foreign mar-					
kets	200,000	25,000

FOR THE FRENCH COMPANY

Cloths of various kinds for exportation					
to Europe	...	...	...	250,000	31,250

FOR FRENCH TRADERS

Cloths of various kinds for foreign mar-					
kets	...	...	...	50,000	6,250

FOR THE DUTCH COMPANY

Cloths of various kinds for exportation					
to Europe	...	...	...	100,000	12,500

Total estimated prime cost ... A.Rs. 2,850,000 or £356,250

Prior to 1765, the goods provided at the factory were purchased with bullion imported into the province from England. But after the Company acquired possession of the territorial revenues of the country, money was advanced from the provincial treasuries for the purposes of trade. The stock of goods thus provided annually, or "the investment" as it was called, was increased after that date to more than twice its former amount; and private merchants now began to trade with capital borrowed in the country. In 1771 the Company exported cloths to the amount of ten lacs of rupees (£125,000) and English private traders to that of twenty lacs (£250,000). The manufacture of muslins had been attempted at Paisley as early as the year 1700, but it was not until 1781 that it was permanently established and carried on with success in Great Britain. On the expiration of Arkwright's patent and the introduction of mule twist in 1785, this branch of industry was greatly extended. From 1781 to 1787, the cotton manufacture of Great Britain increased in value from £2,000,000 to £7,500,000. In the latter year there were forty-one spinning factories at work in Lancashire. In 1787, the estimated prime cost of the cloths that passed through the Custom House of Dacca was fifty lacs (£625,000), while the value of the whole trade of the town for the same year was calculated at one and a quarter crores of rupees (£1,562,500). This appears to have been the most flourishing period of the cloth trade of Dacca, or it was, at least, the year in which the amount of exports was the greatest. Soon after this, the trade began to decline. In 1793, the total value of cloths exported to foreign countries was estimated at 1,362,154 Arcot Rupees, or £170,269 of which amount £77,640 belonged to the East India Company, £58,535 to

English traders and £34,094 to Hindu and other merchants. The estimated prime cost of the cloths manufactured at the stations connected with the Dacca factory, for exportation, from 1790 to 1799, inclusive, was 13,626,018,116 *sicca* rupees (£1,703,252) of which amount £1,035,460 belonged to private traders and £667,792 to the Company. In 1807 the amount of the Company's exports was £107,690, while in 1813 it was reduced to the comparatively small sum of £33,811. 8s. In 1817, the Commercial Residency was abolished and the factory closed.

Since the extinction of the trade to Europe the manufacturing industry of the district has, from the increasing importation of cotton twist and cloths into the country, been declining yearly. Native spun thread, with the exception of very fine and very coarse qualities, has in a great measure been superseded by British yarn. The cotton goods manufactured at Dacca in 1844 were classified as follows, viz. :—

	Rs.	£
1st. Fine muslins made of native-spun yarn of a quality above No. 250, manufactured for the Courts of Delhi, Lucknow, Lahore, and Nepal, and for wealthy natives. Estimated annual value	50,000	5,000
2nd. Muslins of an inferior sort and cloths of medium quality, made of English yarn ranging from No. 30 to No. 100, used in the district, and exported to various parts of India. Estimated annual value	500,000	50,000
3rd. Cloths of inferior quality made of native spun thread below No. 30, worn by the poorer classes, &c. Estimated annual value	150,000	15,000
4th. Cloths of mixed texture of cotton and silk, the former being principally English yarn, woven and embroidered, and manufactured exclusively for the Jidda market. Estimated average annual value for some years prior to 1845	200,000	20,000
5th. Embroidered goods of various sorts as muslins, net fabrics, woollen cloths, scarfs, shawls, wrought with silk, gold, and silver thread &c. Estimated annual value	45,000	4,500
6th. Cloths flowered with cotton thread, or ornamented with open net-work. Estimated annual value	10,000	1,000

Deducting £40,000, which is the computed value of the British

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cotton yarn imported into Dacca and the neighbouring marts, and £5,000 as the value of the silk used in the fabrication of cloths of mixed texture, the amount of money expended annually among the manufactures of the district does not exceed £54,000. The effect of this decline in the manufacturing industry of Dacca is most apparent in the town. The population of the latter which was estimated in the year 1800 at 200,000, was found by a census taken in 1838 not to exceed 68,000, while the annual amount of the collections of the police assessment on houses above a certain rent had fallen, between the years 1814 and 1838, from 31,000 rupees (£3,100) to 10,000 rupees (£1,000). To counterbalance, however, this decayed condition of the city, there has been a considerable increase in the agricultural products of the district, while the rates of wages among the labouring classes generally are higher than they formerly were. This may be said to have commenced about the end of the last (18th) century. Various measures which were then introduced, such as the repeal of the duties on the exportation of grain, the abolition of the Arcot currency, which had long pressed as a heavy burthen on the labouring classes and the permanent settlement on the part of the Government with Zemindars, have all contributed to extend cultivation, and to raise the price of agricultural labour considerably above what it was in former times. Besides the greater quantity of grain produced now than formerly, two articles, *viz.*, safflower and indigo, which at one time were only cultivated to a small extent, have within the last fifty years become staple commodities of the district. In 1787, the whole quantity of safflower grown here was consumed by the dyers in the town. In 1800, the quantity exported was 2,000 maunds (1480 cwt.) and now the average annual quantity raised is estimated at 5,000 maunds (3,571 cwts). In 1801 there were only two small indigo factories in the district, while in 1833 the number had increased to thirty-three producing on an average 2,500 maunds (1,785½ cwt.) of indigo yearly and creating an annual outlay of money among cultivators and persons engaged in the manufacture of this dye to the amount of £30,000. The cultivation of sugar-cane, oil seeds, and plants for cordage (as *sun* and *pat*) has also of late years been considerably increased in this and the neighbouring districts.*

* The above account of Dacca and its cotton manufactures is taken from a short and very interesting monograph on the subject published in 1851. *Ed., J.W.*

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Hindustan Review

It has been proposed to hold an Industrial Conference in connection with the Fifth Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition which is going to be held this year at the city of Benares. Among others, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B. A., was requested by the Exhibition Committee for an expression of his opinion on the matter of organising such a Conference. Mr. Iyer's opinion forms the subject matter of the leading article of the September number of the above *Review*. Prof. J. Nelson Fraser contributes an account of *Sicily*. Pandit Ikbāl Kishen Shargha's views on the *Moral Education of Indians* are concluded in this number. Mr. Jatindra Mohan Banerjee contributes an account of the political career of the late lamented Mr. William Digby, C. I. E., 'the valiant leader whose every heart-beat was for India,' and who died on the 24th of September, 1904. Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhusan, whose first article on the subject we noticed in our July number, contributes a further instalment of his controversial paper on *Higher Hinduism and Higher Christianity*. Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali Ameer gives a biographical account of Munshi Ameer Ahmad, 'the poet, prose-writer and lexicographer' of Lucknow who died in 1900. Ameer, says the writer, 'was a thorough gentleman, and a true picture of oriental courtesy. He was one of those old school productions who impress and command the respect of all who come in contact with them. Modesty, which is the true sign of real greatness, was a marked trait of his character. To know him was to like him, to like him was to admire him, and to admire him was to adore him.' Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy has a short paper on *Passive Resistance in Bengal* in which he gives a short account of the boycott of British goods in Bengal. Following this we come across an English metrical rendering of that well-known poem *अक्षितापिक्ता* from the pen of Mrs Sarala Devi. The *topics of the month* followed by some notes on the *Kayastha World* bring the number to a close.

The Indian Review

Mr. Natesan opens the September number of his *Review* with some notes on *Dadabhai Naoroji's Birthday Celebration, the Imperial*

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Gazetteer and the *Russo-Japanese Peace*. Under the heading of *India and English Party-Politics*, we find, besides seven others, the opinions of Messrs Herbert Roberts and W. C. Bonnerjee. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, I. C. S., contributes a short paper entitled *Education and Athletics*. The Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope has some verses on *The Leaflet*. The "Indian Publicist," who is a frequent contributor to this Review, has an able paper on *Irrigation versus Railways*. The next ten pages are devoted to an article on *The Mediæval Conception of Islam* by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L. *The Awakening* is the title of a poem which is followed by Mr. V. J. Kirttikar's philosophical paper on *Pantheism and the Vedanta*. Mr. R. Vasudeva Row, B.A., of Trivandrum contributes an excellent idyll on *Nala and Damayanti*. Captain Ganpat Rai, I.M.S., writes in favour of *Vegetarian Diet*. As usual, 'Rajduari' contributes some notes on *Current Events*. The section on the *World of Books* is followed by some extracts from a speech delivered recently in Calcutta by Sister Nivedita. The number closes with some *Topics from Periodicals* and a few pages devoted to industrial, commercial, agricultural and literary notes.

The Madras Review

The appearance of *The Madras Review* after a long time is a subject of general congratulation. There are indeed so few good reviews in India that it would be a matter of great pity if such a respectable quarterly as *The Madras Review* were really to be discontinued. However, better late than never. We, therefore, accord our hearty welcome to the number that has just appeared and which opens with an article on the *Recruitment of Indian Factory Labour*. We are told by the writer that 'the gradual training up of educated Indians to the task of organised labour, if not to other technical departments of industrial concerns, is the only sure method of securing a peaceful expansion of the existing labour-supply and making it from time to time commensurate with the needs of growing industries.' *Indian Deputation to England* is the title of the next article, the writer of which advises our delegates to appeal to both the political parties of England, 'unless, indeed, the Liberal party consent to identify itself with us, and give us a pledge that it will, when restored to power, include Indian questions from Indian point of view in its party programme.' Next we have the *Aggressive Land Bills in the Madras Presidency* ably criticised by a Revenue officer. Mr. C. Gopal Menon's article on *Commercial*

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Education contains many useful hints and suggestions. We may be allowed, in this connection, to draw the attention of our readers to a short article on this subject contributed by J. N. B. to the last number of our Review. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao relates an interesting story as to how an old, wily astrologer was saved from being sent to the gallows by Haidar of Mysore whom the former had declared as a 'corpse-bearer.' An account of *Edward Carpenter* with reference to *His Life and Teachings* comes next in the list. The article on *Indian Economics* will be found summarised elsewhere. *Some Notes on the Ramayana* consist of three sections, viz., *Rama's Causeway*, (2) *who were the Rakshasas?* and (3) *the spread of chariots*. Then we come across some *Lessons from the life of Gladstone* followed by the concluding portion of a *Short History of the Sri Vaishnava Faith in Southern India*, evidently a paper of considerable research. The last item in the number is a short article embodying a clear criticism of a 'Bulletin' published by the Madras Agricultural Department on the subject of the tobacco industry of that presidency. We are glad to say that the issue under notice consists of a large number of articles on diversified Indian interest.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

It is understood that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the scheme for an Imperial Customs Service as modified by the Government of India.

* *

A Technical Institute is soon to be started at Baripada, the capital of Mayurbhanj, whose Chief is so well-known for his enlightened policy.

* *

Wireless telegraphy between Burma and the Andamans was most successful in September, communication being quite uninterrupted : 21,000 words were signalled during that month.

* *

The Chief Secretary of the Bengal Government (the older Province) has issued a circular to District Officers to watch the movement of Bengalee students and prevent their association in political or *Swadeshi* Meetings.

* *

H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has ordered the preparation of a Vedic Dictionary. A sum of rupees 15 thousand has been sanctioned for this undertaking and the work is entrusted to Swami Vashersananda and Bramhachari Nityananda.

* *

A London correspondent writes that Manchester has felt the influence of the *Swadeshi* movement and has given a most patient hearing to Mr. Gokhale who explained at a recent meeting in that city the reasons of the boycott of British goods in Bengal.

* *

The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale of Poona and Mr. Lajpat Rai of Lahore have opened a campaign in England with a view to interest British electors in the affairs of India. These gentlemen have gone out from India as a deputation to England on behalf of the Indian National Congress.

* *

NOTES & NEWS

A great increase of messages has been the result of the reduction in the Inland Telegraph charges. The inland telegrams increased by over 22 per cent but the message revenue only increased by 3'32 per cent. No less than 1889,689 private telegrams were sent at 4 annas each.



The annual administration report of the Telegraph Department for the year 1904-1905 shows great development. The capital account at the close of the year amounted to Rs. 8,73,60,549 against Rs. 4,122,392. The net additions to the system comprised a total of 61,684 miles of line and 227,749 miles of wire.



There was a grand gathering at the house of Rai Pashupati Nath Bose Bahadur of Bagbazar on the occasion of *Bijoya Sammilan*. About 5000 people, including the elite and the gentry of Calcutta were present, and the function was diversified by an attractive programme, consisting of national songs, sword play, fencing, gymnastics, *latti* play and so forth.



The Settlement Department of Kashmir State has proposed to irrigate the new barren and unirrigated tract of Ranbirpore by means of a canal from Sandpora. The canal is to be dug by the Zemindars themselves, who will receive Rs. 10,000 as *takavi* without interest. The work is to be completed within three years under the supervision of the Tehsildar. The intervening rock known as Vaulab will be broken through at the Government expense. The Zemindars will always be free from paying any water-rates.



The following Proclamation was issued by Mr. A. M. Bose on behalf of the people of Bengal on the 16th of October, 1905.

"Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal in spite of the universal protest of the Bengali nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our Province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So God help us."



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The *Swadeshi* movement is rapidly recalling people to their old industries which they had abandoned. A very remarkable incident was brought to public notice during the Puja celebrations in the village of Manirampore near Barrackpore. It was difficult to get *dhulies* (drummers) and in some cases the Puja had to be performed without them. On enquiry it was ascertained that the *dhulies* had all gone back to their looms. They had no work before and thus became *dhulies*, and now that there has been a revival of the weaving industry, they have given up the precarious occupation of the *dhulie* and reverted back to their original occupation.



"The Partition-day was celebrated in Bengal in a manner worthy of the premier Province and one which extorts admiration. Bengali men, women and children regarded it as a day of mourning and fasted the whole day ; people closed their shops and clerks hurried to their offices bare-footed, but without the slightest bustle or noise. Fresh fish did not arrive in Calcutta that day, and it was with the greatest difficulty that any fruit could be had. *Swadeshi* Volunteers were alert at their posts, and to them is due a large part of the day's success. Not only the future hopes of the community but the whole of Bengal has shown a regard for law and order that does credit to the disciplined control of the great leaders who ushered the *Swadeshi* movement in that Province. Not even the carping critics have found the smallest reason to complain of the calm and dignified manner in which the day was observed. The foundation-stone of the great Federation Hall, where not only the two sections of the hitherto united Bengalee Community are to join together and shake hands, but our great Congresses and Conferences are also to be held, was laid amidst a scene of great enthusiasm by Mr. A. M. Bose, one of the ablest and most patriotic sons of Bengal."



The *Friend of Burmah* is responsible for the following report of wonderful events that have happened after the find of a great number of relics both of the Buddha and other saints. A Mussulman possesses some land at a place called Yezu at Martaban. As the ground was uneven the disciple of Mahomet determined to level it, and called in some coolies with a mistry at their head. The coolies began leveling the ground. After a few hours' work they brought to light an old relic chamber and at the same stroke a relic of Buddhadeva. The relic immediately sent forth six refulgent rays of light of different hues, which fairly blinded

the workmen. In the twinkling of an eye the news went round the town, and most of the inhabitants ran to the spot to contemplate the marvel and pay it their homage. The Mussulman was approached with a view to persuade him to have his plot of land dug up carefully, but he not caring much for Buddhist relics ordered his coolies to go on as before with their work, when 10, 14 Buddha relics appeared and above 100 relics of saints. The coolie mistry, scared by all these finds, showed them to the elders of Yezu who at once knew as a matter of course what they were. They carefully collected them all, and forthwith sent them to U. Tejavanta. At once a beautiful couch was prepared and all the relics were placed upon it in such a way that they might easily be seen by all comers. Needless to say, vast crowds from all surrounding villages came to see the finds. To convince all those present that they were relics indeed, and not shams, the relics began to leave the couch and gambol about in the air, emitting wonderful rays of light. As a natural consequence, offerings came pouring in, in the form of money and jewels, and a temple will probably be built to enshrine the precious objects. The era of miracles has not yet passed in Burma.



We are glad to understand that the Executive Committee of the Milan Exhibition which will be held there in April next on the occasion of the inauguration of the Simlon Tunnel desire to have a show of Indian Arts and Industries in the Park, where an Indian village will be constructed. The Exhibitors, besides the show of their products, should have also some Indian artisans performing their work in the Exhibition. Italy is a very artistic country and will appreciate Indian art very much. The Consul-General of Italy assures us that there is a large field of very remunerative business for Indian Art in Italy. The Executive Committee offer to the Indian Exhibitors the following privileges :—(1) Their goods can be shipped for Italy in the ports of Calcutta or Bombay free of freight on Italian Steamers. (2) The price of the passage for Exhibitors and their attendants will be greatly reduced. (3) The rent for the area occupied by the Exhibitors in the Exhibition Park will be very much below the tariff used for European Exhibitors. (4) Moreover, regarding the shipment of the goods from India, the committee have extended the limited time to the month of January next 1906. In the Park will be erected a large pavilion where Indian Tea will be served by Indian *Kitmatgars*; therefore, the Indian Village will become one of the greatest attrac-

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tions and the rendezvous of the aristocracy who will largely patronize Indian art.



An interesting addition has been made to the Lahore Museum by the purchase of a cartoon representing an event in the life of a King who played an important part in the history of the Punjab and Afghanistan during the first part of the last century. This panoramic picture is nearly 24 feet in length and depicts a long procession of strikingly-dressed personages with their names written in Persian above each. In the centre, gorgeously robed and riding a gaily caparisoned charger is Jehan Panan Muhammed Shuja-ul Mulk Badshau Ghazi (generally known as Shah Shuja) who after many vicissitudes was installed by the British Government on the Kabul throne in 1839. The cartoon is no doubt a contemporary one and particularly valuable, as it represents costumes, attendants and appendages of this King as they would appear at the time. It was unearthed at Delhi from among a quantity of old native paintings and drawings and was obtained for a very small sum.

The following persons have held the office of the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of India during the last fifty years :—

Canning	}	...	...	{	Clyde
Elgin					Strathnairn
Lawrence	}	...	...	{	Sandhurst
Mayo					Napier of Magdala
Northbrook	...	...	...	{	Napier of Magdala
					Haines
Lytton	...	...	...		Haines
Ripon	...	...	...		Stewart
Dufferin	...	...	...	{	Stewart
					Roberts
Lansdowne	...	...	...	{	Roberts
					White
Elgin	...	...	...	{	White
					Lockhart
Curzon	...	...	...	{	Nairne (for a time)
					Power Palmer
					Kitchener

Of these, Lord Clyde, Lord Strathnairn, Lord Sandhurst, Field-Marshal Sir F. Haines, Sir G. White, and Lord Kitchener were officers of the English Army ; Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Donald Stewart, Lord Roberts, Sir H. Lockhart, Sir Charles Nairne (for a short time), and Sir Power Palmer were from the Indian Army.

Since May 1904 correspondence has been proceeding between the Bengal Government and the Secretary of State upon the subject of the establishment of a School of Mine in India, or in lieu thereof, the making of provision for mining instruction at the Sibpur Engineering College, Calcutta, with practical instruction in the mining districts. The latter proposal, was, on the advice of a representative committee of educational and mining experts, recommended by the Bengal Government and has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. The course is to be for five years, including eighteen months' training in the mining districts, where the students will work under the instruction of managers of mines. A professor of mining engineering is to be appointed from England at a salary of Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000, which is equivalent to £800 per annum. A peripatetic mining instructor, with a native assistant, is also to be appointed, at the same salary, but without exchange compensation allowance. His work will be to give instructions to persons already engaged in mining work who desire to obtain certificates of competency. Such instruction is in all cases to be gratuitous, in view of the fact that "owing to the extensive ignorance usually prevailing, the mines are now for the most part worked upon unsystematic and wasteful lines, and that the absence of technical knowledge is a constant source of danger to the labourers."—The *Mahrattu*.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL

The Madras Agricultural Department has succeeded in curing Trichinopoly tobacco on scientific principles.

* *

In Bengal, Aden salt has begun to replace the Liverpool salt, which sells at Rs. 45 or Rs. 50 per 100 maunds, while the former can be got at Rs. 37 or thereabout for an equal quantity.

* *

The net imports of gold into British India to the end of the month of August 1905, were valued at Rs. 1,19,05,989. The net imports of silver during the same period were valued at Rs. 3,73,75,795.

* *

The Government of Mysore have again sanctioned a grant of about 300 acres of land for rubber cultivation in which the Dewan is keenly interested. The grantee is Mr. Pilkington and the grant is free of assessment for the first five years.

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In the five months ending with August the net imports of the precious metals into India after deducting exports amounted in value to Rs. 1,19,05,989 in the case of gold and to Rs. 3,73,75,795 in the case of silver.



At Dacca a company has been formed with a capital of Rs. 10,000 to purchase handlooms, and develop the weaving industry. Similar companies have been started in several parts of Calcutta and many places in the interior of Bengal. Of course it will be some time before native goods can be turned out of the same quality as English ones, but by degrees a great improvement can be effected.



The Mysore Durbar proposes to hold an Agricultural Exhibition in commemoration of the Prince of Wales' visit to Mysore. This is as it should be, and we are glad to learn that the Hyderabad State also proposes to celebrate the occasion of the Prince's visit in a similar manner. If the other Indian States would follow the example of Mysore and Hyderabad, the royal visit to India would greatly conduce to the success of the present industrial awakening.



The *Pioneer* says :—The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has taken the opportunity of the Annual Report of the Agricultural Department coming up for review to unfold his plans for the development of agriculture in conformity with the general scheme of advance throughout India. In the first place, Agriculture is to become a separate Department, distinct from Land Records, with a Director of its own, assisted by a staff of experts. Then there is to be a Provincial Agricultural College with European and Native professors, which is expected as time goes on to provide the material for a Provincial Agricultural Service. As the men are forthcoming, large Government farms will be opened to undertake experimental work and serve as centres for the distribution of seeds and manures. As offshoots from these experimental farms there are to be smaller demonstration farms the staff of which will act as agricultural missionaries going round to educate the people to a knowledge of the best methods and results according to the lines obtained at the larger institutions.

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

In the *British Empire Review* of October, Sir Edwin Collen, an ex-military member of the Viceroy's Council, has an article on the higher administration of the Indian Army, with special reference to the recent controversy on the subject. In the course of this article, Sir Edwin Collen observes :—

“ British rule in India cannot be maintained by the power of the sword alone. It must be broad-based upon the loyalty and contentment of the peoples of India. And while the safety of the country from hostile enterprise, from outside or from internal disturbance, is of the deepest moment, we must remember that an enormous military burden of expenditure would in itself defeat the very object at which we were aiming. I am among those who have always striven for the increase and improvement of the military forces of India, but I have never failed to recognise that there are limits beyond which we ought not to impose a load of outlay upon the revenues of the country, and I have never been able to see the justice of the present generation being compelled to bear the whole of the cost of the measures which are to benefit posterity.”

Regarding the loyalty of the Indian people, Sir Edwin makes some very just and apposite remarks :—

“ The question is often asked whether the people of India are loyal to British rule. The answer must depend upon the exact meaning we attach, in this connection, to the word “loyalty.” We certainly cannot expect any passionate devotion to their foreign rulers, but if we mean a loyalty compounded of faith in prestige, recognition of the inevitable, content in their government, and appreciation of military strength, with a sentiment towards the King and his representative in India, then it may be said that the majority of the people, whether patricians or peasants, are possessed of the spirit of loyalty. At the same time any one acquainted with India knows the tremendous dangers of unsympathetic rule, whether by a district officer, by the commanding officer of a native regiment, or by the commander of an army, and there are always those at work to stir up agitation and to exaggerate grievances, whether in the village or the cantonment. We have had plenty of lessons, if we would but profit by them. To talk about the power of Russia as if we were afraid of

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her is not the way to ensure the loyalty of the people or of the army, and what is needed is a quiet and gradual increase of strength and efficiency, and not a sudden uprooting of all the traditions of the Indian army and the policy which has hitherto been accepted by every statesman who has governed that country."

THE SITUATION IN BENGAL

On the 16th of October last, Lord Curzon's scheme of dividing the province of the Bengalee-speaking people was given effect to in spite of an avalanche of public opposition. On that day also was laid in Calcutta the foundation-stone of a building to be called the Federation Hall, which is intended to serve as a set-off against Lord Curzon's disturbance of the administrative unity of this province after a century and a half of British Rule, as a symbol of United Bengal and as a meeting-place for Bengalees from all parts of the country. Mr. A. M. Bose, for a long time a most active and trusted leader of the Bengalee people and now confined for many months to his bed on account of some illness, was carried in a chair to the grounds of the Federation Hall and made a most impressive and soul-stirring speech on the occasion of laying its foundation-stone. We reproduce below the most touching parts of the speech :—

"In the dispensation of Providence, not unoften out of evil cometh good ; and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yes, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many noble and inspiring utterances : "*Mora Gange Ban Eshe-che*" which means that the dead, currentless and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood and is swelling in its depth." Have we not all heard the booming of that national call and its solemn summons to our hearts ? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the throne of the Most High, at this sacred hour of the new and united Bengali nation ; let us bear in mind, as a writer in the "*Patrika*" has said, that from dark clouds descend life-giving showers, and from parted furrows spring up the life-sustaining golden grain, that in bitter biting winter is laid the germ of the glorious spring. I belong to the sundered province of East Bengal and yet never did my heart cling more dearly to you, or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment. The "official" separation has drawn us indeed far closer together, and made us stronger in united

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

brotherhood. Hindu, Mussalman and Christian, North, East and West, with the resounding sea beneath, all belong to one indivisible Bengal—the common, the beloved, the ever-cherished mother-land of us all. In spite of every other separation of creed, this creed of the common Mother-land will bring us nearer, heart to heart and brother to brother. And this Federation Hall, the foundation-stone of which is being laid to-day, not only on this spot of land, but on our moistened and fearful hearts, is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to future generations yet unborn, of this unhappy day and of the unhappy policy which has attempted to separate us into two parts.

“One has heard of different orders in this country for religious and philanthropic service, of vows of self-sacrificing devotion carried to life’s last day. Enter you, my friends, into what I might call the order of the motherland or of Bangabhumi, and with characters unstained, aims that are placed high and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self-forgetful, serve the land and suffer for the land of your birth. Hindus and Mussalmans, let us in the name of God all join in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common mother.

“Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan,—victorious, self-sacrificing and magnanimous—belongs that title ; but may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again after ages of darkness and gloom with the help, let me gratefully acknowledge, of England and English culture. The glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land. Let us all pray that the grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps and steal our hearts. Let action and action only and not words be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beauteous land blessed by nature and filled by men, true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books, the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood but of manly effort, and stern resolve in the country’s cause. And Thou, Oh God ! of this ancient land, the protector and saviour of Aryabartta, and the merciful father of us all (by whatever name we call upon thee), be with us on this day ; and as a father gathereth his children under his arms, do thou gather us under thy protecting and sanctifying care.”

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

1905

Date

1. The Proclamation with regard to the Partition of Bengal is issued at Simla.
2. A general mourning observed all over Bengal on account of the Partition Proclamation.
3. Serious drought in the Punjab.
4. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce consider the Partition Agitation unwise and strongly urge Bengalee traders to abandon the boycott.
5. The 81st birth-day anniversary of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
6. Serious distress in Rajputana on account of the failure of rain.
7. A strong protest was entered into in a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation against the motion of presenting a farewell address to Lord Curzon.
8. At a meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council held at Simla, Mr. Earle Richards introduced the Bengal Partition Bill.
9. A Government Resolution of the Finance Department is published at Simla giving detailed instructions to the Excise Committee which is to investigate the whole question of the sale and taxation of liquor in India.
10. Meetings all over Bengal in support of the *Swadeshi* movement.
11. Heavy floods in Upper Burmah—Copious showers of rain fell over North-Western India to the immense relief of the cultivators.
12. A phenomenal rainfall causes serious damage to houses and buildings in the Punjab.
13. The Railway Board issues an important Circular on Railway travelling in India.
14. A survey by the E. B. S. Railway is sanctioned of a line from Rangya to Tezpur in Assam.
15. Floods in Kashmir are reported to be exceptionally serious.
16. Violent earthquake at Simla.
17. The Blue-Book of Railway Projects is officially issued at Simla.
18. A press note is issued at Rangoon in connection with the proposed Chinese labour for Burma.
19. Lord Curzon delivers a lengthy speech before the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla on Indian Education.
20. The Jhelum floods cause terrible havoc in the Punjab.
21. In connection with the Partition Agitation and the *Swadeshi* movement a mass meeting was held at the Calcutta Town Hall, under the presidency of Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh, attended by about 40,000 people.
22. Great alarm at Hlawga in Burma and the neighbourhood owing to the threatened bursting of the dam of the Hlawga lake.
23. The India Government sanctions the construction of a new branch line to the Southern Mahratta Railway.
24. Sir Denzil Ibbetson makes some important statements in connection with the reform of the Punjab Police Force.
25. Two violent shocks of earthquake were felt at Multan.
26. A meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council was held at Simla in which the Bengal Partition Bill was passed into law.

EDITORIAL NOTES

By carrying out the partition of Bengal in the teeth of all opposition, the Government of India have proved to the world how despotic and irresponsible the present Anglo-Indian Administration has grown. It is well for us that young my Lord of Kedleston has carried the principles of despotic Government to an extent to which it is impossible to find a parallel even in the history of India and to the consequences of which there can be no room for much difference of opinion. Two facts, however, have prominently been brought forward by Lord Curzon's muddle-headed statesmanship—that the claim of the Government of India as a 'despotism tempered by benevolence' is generally being withdrawn by present-day Anglo-Indian rulers and that the so-called responsibility of the English Parliament for the good government of this country is an 'oriental' makeshift for leaving things alone and pursuing a policy of reckless drift. People have been so much shocked by the attitude of the present Government towards the articulate opinion of the educated community of this country and by the reckless way in which Indian affairs have been administered in recent years by England's 'trusted' Pro-consuls that one naturally wonders how long such a state of things can be endured or permitted.

The time has come to cry halt to despotic and irresponsible rule in India. We have outgrown the system of Government which was devised for us about half-a-century ago by some well-meaning but short-sighted statesmen on the lines of Pitt's and Fox's India Bills of the eighteenth century. The periodical inquiry into the affairs of this country which those Bills provided as a *sine qua non* for each successive renewal of the charter of the East India Company was an effective safeguard against Company Bahadur's rule becoming unpopular and tyrannical. With the passing of the Government of India into the hands of the Crown, this safeguard was withdrawn and Parliamentary control substituted in its place. Now, the British Parliament is too busy with domestic affairs and this, together with the other fact that the average M. P. is colossally ignorant about India, successfully prevent any efficient check being put upon the Government of India. As Sir Edwin Collen pertinently observes in an article in the last number of the

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British Empire Review from which we make some other extracts in another page :—"No impartial person can deny that the densest ignorance prevails, not merely among the masses of the people of this kingdom, not merely among omniscient publicists who guide and instruct opinion, but among statesmen of some standing and experience." As a result of this dense ignorance, the Anglo-Indian Administration has become awfully reckless and reactionary and has even gone to the length of adopting Russian methods for the government of this country. But the twentieth century is not likely to tolerate despotism or encourage irresponsible Government—whether the English people look into our affairs more closely or not. With the termination of the Russian autocracy, the present model of our rulers, the world is bound to enter into a new phase of political influence to which even the East is not likely to remain impervious for many a long day. The days of despotism are numbered in Europe: so will it be in India in a few years.

By a series of most despotic laws and arbitrary administrative measures, Lord Curzon has succeeded in hastening the doom of the system of government that now obtains in this country. We have had enough of despotic rule in India—several centuries of it under our own rulers and under the Afghan and the Mogul—and we have got tired of it now. We donot want it any more—it is not suited to the changed condition of India or to the spirit of our times. So long as despotism prevails in this country, so long will all piteous appeals for the redressal of our grievances must be like crying in the wilderness, our articulate opinion will be ignored and flouted, and all our political activity will have to be confined in offering a permanent opposition to the wishes and pleasures of an unsympathetic and close bureaucracy.

Despotism has therefore to be knocked down on the head. The task is herculean and must take time, but the knell of its doom must be sounded at once. We must unite our forces and gather up our strength to get rid of this parasite that feeds upon the apathy of England and sucks our blood and unmakes us for the struggles of life. The time is just rife for making the attempt and now or never is the principle that should guide the leaders of public opinion in India. To take time by the forelock is one of the soundest maxims in political science.

We must begin by stating at the outset that we do not desire to snap the bond that at present unites us with England. No sane man that knows the circumstances of India well and has read history with any profit can think of a sudden dis-

ruption of England's relation with India with equanimity. It would be the height of folly and imprudence to wish England's connection with this country cease at once. British rule is necessary for a long while yet for our education and training, and we must continue to draw our inspiration from English political life in order to rear popular government and institutions among us. The withdrawal of the strong hand of England would mean the arrest of our social and intellectual progress and also of the development of a spirit of nationality in India, which, outside Japan, is altogether a new factor in Asiatic life. Then again, if the British were to retire from India, it would be laying this country open to invasions from several points of the compass—by land and sea. We are, therefore, loyal to England from motives of self-interest, as Lord Dufferin happened to observe on a memorable occasion, and loyal shall we remain to it so long as she ensures us the security of our life and property and the development of all the arts of peace and civilisation.

But though we want the British Power in India to be continued, none of us wish that English rulers and governors should conduct the affairs of this country according to their sweet will or in any way put a strain upon our loyalty and make the yoke of the foreigner a galling burden to us. British rule must be made acceptable to the people, and to do so it must be 'broad-based upon the people's will.' You cannot thrust your wishes upon an unwilling people and yet command their loving allegiance. There is a world of difference between a government based upon a people's affection and that based upon the sentiment best described by lawyers as 'want of affection.' The Indian Government must now conform to the people's wishes, if it is to be endured for a long time.

This is exactly what we now want and should agitate for. Your paternal form of Government has grown a little bit out of date, for the people of India are no longer held in leading strings and have passed out of tutelage. Despotism tempered by benevolence is not, therefore, the best form of government that suits a people that have come of age.

Our Government needs, therefore, a thorough overhauling and to be brought into line with that which prevails in other parts of the civilised world. The autocratic viceroy and his subservient and bureaucratic cabinet must go; secret conferences and unpublished despatches must be things of the past; the control of the national purse must pass from the hands of irresponsible officers to those of the chosen representatives of the people; and no legislation should be enacted without any popular sanction.

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In short, we should demand for a popular constitution in place of the existing bureaucracy.

It is no doubt a very difficult task to draw up a constitution for the Government of India that might meet with all possible objections and at the same time satisfy the wishes of the people. But the lines of such a constitution are not hard to lay, particularly its fundamental principles.

In the first place, it must be recognised that the English Parliament can never be expected to devote much time and attention to Indian affairs, much less to exhibit special knowledge on any subject of Indian interest. It is, therefore, bound to take the officers on the spot on trust and vote according to official instructions. The responsibility of good government in India the Parliament cannot, therefore, conscientiously discharge under these circumstances, and there is no good in reminding busy and over-worked people in England of the wisdom and necessity of studying Indian questions at first hand. And even if first-hand informations could be otherwise made available to Parliament, 8 out of 10 members would not understand them. An Indian vote in Parliament would, therefore, have to be recorded mainly on party lines and for half-a-century yet there is no chance of any Indian questions being taken up as a main plank in the programme of any of the leading parties of England from an altruistic or Indian point of view. A direct representation of Indian interests in St. Stephen now, as suggested some time ago by Mr. Samuel Smith and very recently by Mr. Gokhale, would not, therefore, alter the situation very much in favour of India. With a battalion of nearly a hundred members in St. Stephen, Ireland has cried herself hoarse for justice since the days of the Union, but the English Parliament donot appear to have listened to her appeals with any degree of earnestness. If that's the sort of treatment which the Irish people have got at Westminster for over a century, what can poor and distant India expect from the same quarter with, say, half-a-dozen spokesmen only?

Nor would any Indian representation in the Council of the Secretary of State for India avail us much. As a matter of fact, the Secretary of State is all in all in the India Office, and his Council are powerless to change his august decrees for either our weal or woe. It were better far for India, on the other hand, if the India Council were abolished for good and the sole responsibility for the direction of Indian affairs in England were left in the hands of a capable minister of the Crown, drawing his salary from the home Exchequer. If that would result in no other good to India, it would

EDITORIAL NOTES

at least save this poor country several thousand pounds of money now squandered upon a few super-annuated Anglo-Indian officials.

Leaving, therefore, the British Parliament and the India Office alone, we ought to direct our best efforts in curtailing the powers of the Anglo-Indian officials so far as possible and in making the Government of this country as much representative and popular as practicable.

The Viceroy must continue to be the nominee of the Crown and subordinate to the Secretary of State for India. His tenure of office must under all circumstances be strictly limited to 5 years and there shall be no renewal or extension of any such term. He ought to be obliged to pass at least 6 months of every year in Calcutta, no more than 4 months in Simla, and the remaining on tour. He should be assisted by a Council or Cabinet and should have personally nothing to do with the initiation of any legislative or administrative measures or with the administration of the Foreign Office or with the direction and organisation of military expeditions. Foreign and Military affairs should be left in the hands of Boards, each of which is to be composed of 3 members, with headquarters permanently located at Simla, and working under direct instruction from the Secretary of State for India. The members of the Foreign Office and the Military Boards will be appointed by, and hold their office at the pleasure of, the Crown, and each of these Boards should be entitled to send a member to the Viceroy's Council. Similar Boards, under similar conditions, each composed of 3 members only and with the power to return a member to the Viceroy's Council, should be entrusted with the control of the State finances, the Legislative Department and the Home Administration. A Board already exist for the Department of Commerce and Industry and should be re-constituted on the lines of the other Boards as laid down above. Thus, all the principal Departments of the State should be entrusted to separate Boards, working independently of the Viceroy of India and their members holding their offices at the pleasure of the Crown. In the Home, Legislative, Commerce, Financial and the Foreign Department Boards, at least one of the members should be Indian.

In every important question, unanimity of opinion should guide the proceedings of the Boards and in case of any difference of opinion arising among the members of any of them, the Viceroy's Council should be asked to decide the issue. No legislative or administrative measure should be passed or tax or cess imposed, or any expenditure incurred, without obtaining the sanction of at

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least two-thirds of the total number of members of the Legislative Council which is to be further expanded on a popular basis. The franchise ought to be so widened as to admit the presence, besides the six official members representing the various Boards of the State and the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, of at least 24 non-official members in the Viceroy's Council. The Indian Empire is now large enough and education has spread to all parts of the country to make such a representation not only feasible but eminently desirable. The right of initiation and introduction of all bills and taxes will lay with the Legislative and the Financial Boards only, no other Board having any right to introduce any bill before the Viceroy's Council.

Under the above arrangements, the Viceroy will be powerless to do much evil or to set back the hand of progress by reactionary or repressive measures, in as much as he will not be able to initiate any measures or bills at his own instance or to exercise any unhealthy influence over the members of the several Boards of the State by holding out to them any prospects or promise of further promotion or to negotiate for the votes of the non-official members of his council by having a hand in their nomination.

The various Provincial Governments should be similarly equipped with Boards and expanded councils and their heads should be selected from outside the corps of the Indian Civil Service and appointed by the Secretary of State for India. The members of the Boards of the Provincial Governments should be elected by the members of the Civil Services, holding appointments for the time being in those provinces, both Indian and provincial, and their term of office should be limited strictly to five years. The Governors of the Provinces should have no power of initiation in any matter nor should they be permitted to look to the Viceroy of India for private instructions on any questions of public interest.

In the constitution that we should demand, it should be distinctly provided that neither the Viceroy of India nor the Provincial Governors should have any patronage at their disposal excepting the appointments in their respective households and that all public offices should be filled in by the different Boards in charge of the Central and the Provincial Governments.

All local affairs should be continued to be administered by the Municipal, District and Local Boards but in none of them should a servant of the Government be allowed to sit as Chairman or control the local rates and no provision should be made for the interference of local officials in the administration of local affairs.

In the electoral scheme, the representation of small interests and communities should be guaranteed by nomination, not by the Viceroy or the Provincial Governors but by the Home Boards of the Supreme and the Local Administrations.

The above is the barest outline of the constitution for the Government of India that we have to propose and the details have, no doubt, to be filled in with care and patience. With this will have to be dovetailed the scheme of the reorganisation of the District Civil Service of India which appeared in our June issue and which, if adopted, would put an end to all official zoolum and high-handed proceedings in the interior of the country.

Now a word about the cost of our scheme. The constitution as sketched above would cost about 60 to 75 lakhs of Rupees to the State a year, but the abolition of the India Council would alone save us about 5 lakhs of Rupees and the supersession of the present administrative machinery in India would give us another 20 lakhs annually. The balance will, no doubt, be met from the savings that will accrue to the State from entrusting the Government of the country to the hands of Boards who will have nothing but peace and retrenchment to look to as the guiding principles of their administration. And even if the money be not found in the way we have indicated, the people of India would be only too glad to bear another tax (no price would be too high) for the maintenance of a constitution that will secure and protect them from despotic and irresponsible rule and make high-handed and arbitrary proceedings a thing of the past in India.

Hand in hand with the security of life and property in the country and the grant of all possible civic rights and privileges to its people and the establishment of a government in which there will be not much room for the scope of individual caprices and for the vagaries of 'personal rule' must go the demand for a compulsory and free education for the masses. If the people will not come to appreciate their rights and privileges and will not know their responsibilities, the best form of government is bound to degenerate into a despotism in no time. With an alert and vigilant people, even autocracy and despotism lose their fangs and become harmless. So, along with the fight for constitutional government in India, we ought to make a persistent demand for free and compulsory education in all parts of this country. Want of education among our masses gives the Anglo-Indian administrators the opportunity to put forward the plea that 'personal rule' is the best form of government in India and that constitutional principles are opposed

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to the genius of our people. 'Light, more light,' as the poet cried, is now what is wanted by Indian mankind and in this connection the leaders of the people have as much a sacred obligation to fulfil as the established Government of the country.

But a constitution, however good it may be, cannot make a nation great. At best, it can make a nation happy and contented. For the elevation of a race, happiness and contentment are not the only factors wanted. **The Present Situation and Our Duty** A nation must be wealthy and prosperous in order to be great and influential. Next to knowledge, wealth is the most potent lever for the regeneration of a people and the most valued possession for the individual as well as the nation. What should be done to make our people wealthy and prosperous is now by far and away the most important question that we have got to consider, next to that of the constitution of our Government and the free and compulsory education of the Indian masses.

The eyes of all India, and of many parts of the world outside, have for some time past been directed towards Bengal. But has Bengal risen equal to the occasion? He would be a robust optimist who should think it has, for really we do not seem to know our mind yet. The impression seems somehow unfortunately to have got abroad that the establishment of a large number of cotton mills would be the panacea of our economic depression and that the first thing to which our united efforts should now be directed is to make Bengal self-contained so far as the supply of its cloths is concerned. In the first place, it is forgotten that man does not live by wearing cloths only nor does he get rich by making them for himself. Our efforts to supply our own *dhoties* and *chadars* are, therefore, at best, a negation of a great and growing evil. It, no doubt, saves us from one of the processes of impoverishment: it does not, as it cannot, make us *rich* in the sense in which we wish our people to be rich. So, it will not do by confining our attention to the question of cotton-weaving only. In the second place, the establishment of cotton mills ought to be looked only from one standpoint and that is business. If any person will think it safe or prudent or even desirable to invest their money in such an industry, they are undoubtedly welcome to do it. If, on the other hand, such an industry is not likely to prove profitable in a certain locality or province, patriotism ought rather to stand between capital and any such investment. In this connection, it is necessary to draw public attention to the well-known principle of economics which lays down that wherever a business or industry offers good profits to the investor, there capital s

bound to flow. Can we not, therefore, reasonably wait to see if people are not tempted to seize this opportunity for a profitable investment of their capital? It may be urged against this position that our people lack in enterprise and that Indian capital, more particularly Bengalee capital, is shy and that public incitement, therefore, is necessary to counteract these weaknesses. In reply we have to say that more's the necessity to watch and wait and the greater the need for cautious development. It is no good, therefore, going in hysterics over cotton mills until we have definite opinions from experts on the following points at least :—

(a) Is Bengal favourable to cotton manufactures on a large scale?

(b) What chances are there for Bengal competing successfully with Lancashire and Bombay in that line?

(c) What would be the effect of an increase of the cotton duties or of a foreign combine on the infant industry of Bengal?

(d) Why have not the existing Bengal mills been able to give any profits to their shareholders all these years?*

(e) Will the Bengal mills be able to depend upon yarns manufactured by them or will they have to look forward to English yarns for their manufactures?

(f) If English yarns will be indispensable in the Bengal mills, what per cent of the Lancashire business is likely to come into our hands?

These and some others are very serious questions which have to be answered before embarking on a colossal national enterprise. If the opinions of experts will decide these questions in favour of mills in Bengal, let us have as many mills in these provinces as our money or organisation can command. But if they will return an unfavourable answer, no public man ought to risk his position by still crying for mills in Bengal. In the last place, it is an economic heresy to raise one's voice against the principle of division of labour, so universally accepted and so firmly established. Every country or province must produce that commodity only which it is peculiarly fitted to manufacture and for which its people have

* In a recent issue, the *Pioneer* mentioned the following facts regarding the Bengal Cotton Mills and the sudden rise in the shares of some of them during the height of the boycott agitation and the backward oscillation of the pendulum : "Thus the ordinary Rs. 100 shares of a particular mill in Calcutta, which had paid no dividends for the past seven years, stood at Rs. 50 in August : they were rushed up to Rs. 94 by the middle of October. Since then they have rapidly declined, and they are now quoted at Rs. 98. In the case of another mill, under similar circumstances, prices rose from Rs. 41 to Rs. 85 : they have since fallen to Rs. 55. Some speculators may have made money by dabbling in these shares but there was evidently no stability in the transactions."

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acquired sufficient skill and aptitude. It would be silly, under present conditions, for Madras to attempt the manufacture of jute or for Bombay to grow rice or for the United Provinces to cultivate tea or coffee. To think of making Bengal a self-contained province in the matter of its cloth-supply would not only be, therefore, going against the principle of division of labour but would be, at the same time, raising an obstruction against the development of the spirit of Indian Nationality. The time has gone by when we could think of the various provinces of India as separate and independent units, either political or economic, and it would not be wise to raise inter-provincial barriers so late in the day. The idea of making Bengal self-contained in the matter of cloths is, therefore, neither prudent nor patriotic and is un-economic to a degree. There is only one circumstance under which we may be called upon to set up mills on our own account and that is the incapacity or the refusal, or even the reluctance, of Bombay to supply the needs of Bengal. Bombay has the advantage of a long start over us ; there is skilled labour in abundance in that province for the purpose ; there is extensive cotton cultivation in that part of the country ; the spirit of speculation and enterprise is inherent in the people ; and above every thing stands the fact that they have after all succeeded in making cotton one of the most successful industries of India. Under the circumstances, instead of rushing headlong into a venture of doubtful wisdom, we should wait to see how far Bombay is prepared, and is able, to meet our demand. In the meantime, we can go on collecting expert opinions and encourage hand-loom weaving so far as lies in our part to do. The expansion of the hand-loom weaving industry is a very desirable object as it is likely not only to supply a large part of our local demands for cloth, but also to revive the manipulative dexterity of the Bengalee weaver and allow him to raise his head again in the economy of Indian life. There is not much room for speculation or enterprise either in this business, and, therefore, can safely be recommended to all and sundry.

But, as we began by saying, man does not live by weaving cloths only nor does he get rich by making them. The first thing for national greatness is that we must be rich and there are only three ways by which we, or for the matter of that any other nation of the world, can get rich and prosperous—(a) by improving our agriculture, (b) by introducing new manufactures and (c) by taking into our own hands the trade and commerce of our country and preventing any middlemen to do any business for us. Regarding agricultural improvements and the introduction of new

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manufactures, the attention of our people have been directed towards them for some time and the present *Swadeshi* enthusiasm has given a fresh and further impetus to the cause of our industrial activity. To trade and commerce we are somewhat indifferent still ; but it must be distinctly understood and accepted as a part of our creed that these can no longer be left in the hands of foreigners and aliens with any advantage to ourselves. For the fact must not be lost sight of that economic slavery is no less demoralising than political subjection. We have not only allowed the English to monopolise all the loaves and fishes of office but have also suffered him to be the lordly middleman of all our business transactions. The English official is thrust upon us by the ruling power and must, therefore, be tolerated ; the English trader, however, thrives by our sufferance and we can easily manage to do without him. The English official sometimes may be necessary and even desirable for many healthy influences in our Administration but the English trader has seldom any redeeming features about him. We must not be understood here to include English investors and organisers to whose skill and money we owe many of our Railway lines, Steamship Companies and some of our thriving industries. We have before our mind's eye the English exporter and the English importer who have nearly monopolised the entire trade and commerce of this side of the country, flooded Bengal with articles of luxury to which we were perfect strangers a hundred years ago and to which the Deccan and the south are strangers even to-day, and who at present drain away a large portion of our national wealth. This is not conducive to national well-being and the sooner we realise the fact the better for us.

Now that we are beginning to realise the consciousness of our race and to feel the throbbing of a national life, it is just the time to direct our attention to this phase of our economic problem. We ought to do our own exporting ourselves and should enjoy a monopoly of our own import trade. If we have got to export our rice, wheat, jute, cotton, hides and skins,—let us do it ourselves by our own men and by our own money and, if possible, in our own mercantile fleet. If we require to import cotton or woollen goods, hardware and machinery or railway plant—we must get them shipped by our own people from the centres of their manufactures. Our men must go all the world over to sell our own produce and manufactures and to send to us the things that find a good and ready market in India. All this may appear to be a large order ; yet nothing short of this will make us great, for nations never are saved by half-measures.

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To take into our own hands our export and import business would entail a great outlay of capital,—several crores of Rupees. All of this we may not have to find in cash but may hope to secure by establishing a sound national credit. Once our credit is established, all the nations of the world will vie with each other to serve us as our bankers and the want of money in that case will never be felt very keenly. But before such credit can be established, we have to find a large sum of money for our people for the initial equipments and necessary instruction. The first thing, therefore, that should be done in this line is to establish a large number of Polytechnic Institutes and Co-operative and Credit Banks for furthering the interests of Indian traders and commercial men. Ten good Indian Banks and as many good Institutes in different centres of Bengal may prove of incalculable benefit to the expansion of our trade and commerce. And if we look around us, we may expect to find a good part of this money by making an effective organisation among our people and by tapping some of our raw produces ; say, jute. We mention jute, because Bengal has the monopoly of that fibre and it is not produced any where else in the world and the terms of its sale can be controlled by the Bengalees. By the bye, is it not a little bit surprising that among the thousand and one proposals made before the public for the propagation of the *Swadeshi* creed not one has been put forward with the view of taking into our own hands the manufacture of jute which unquestionably is now the greatest industry of Bengal and which yields a most respectable dividend to the European investor at present ? However, jute is a commodity which everybody knows does not find many purchasers among Indians and consequently an extra pence or an anna charged per maund upon the market price, for replenishing a National Fund and with the unanimous consent of the producers, will fall almost entirely upon the shoulders of the alien consumer. Let us, therefore, set earnestly to the task of collecting a National Fund on an extensive scale, not with the narrow and restricted view of encouraging weaving or spinning or any other particular manufactures, but with the object of bringing into our own hands, among other things, the control of our entire trade and commerce. That would be carrying the principle of boycott to its natural and logical issue and, moreover, would gain for our people the respect and admiration of all the races of the earth. A community of interests will also be thereby established between India and the rest of the world, the value of which cannot be too much exaggerated, either politically or economically. There

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would be an additional advantage of this commercial control. This would give honourable employment to several thousands of our educated and intelligent men who now knock at the door of the Government for employment in vain. Money will flow into India from all quarters of the globe and will go to feed all classes of our people and be invested in numerous reproductive works.

We must not forget that it is a commercial age in which we are living and our success or failure in the commercial world must decide our place in the scale of nations. The Bengalees are generally taunted by a class of critics as not being a military people but we have no reason to be ashamed of that charge. We have outgrown the state of the world in which military instincts were appreciated as the most valued asset of a nation and have arrived at a period when peace is considered to have 'her victories more renowned than war.' Now is the opportunity of the Bengalee people to push themselves to the forefront of nations and no endeavours will be too great and no sacrifices too heavy for the attainment of that goal. Every nation has an appointed destiny, and it appears that the Bengalee people are marked by Providence for a commercial supremacy in the world. Let us put forth our best efforts towards that end and show to the world the grit we possess and the potentialities of our race. Nations by themselves are made.

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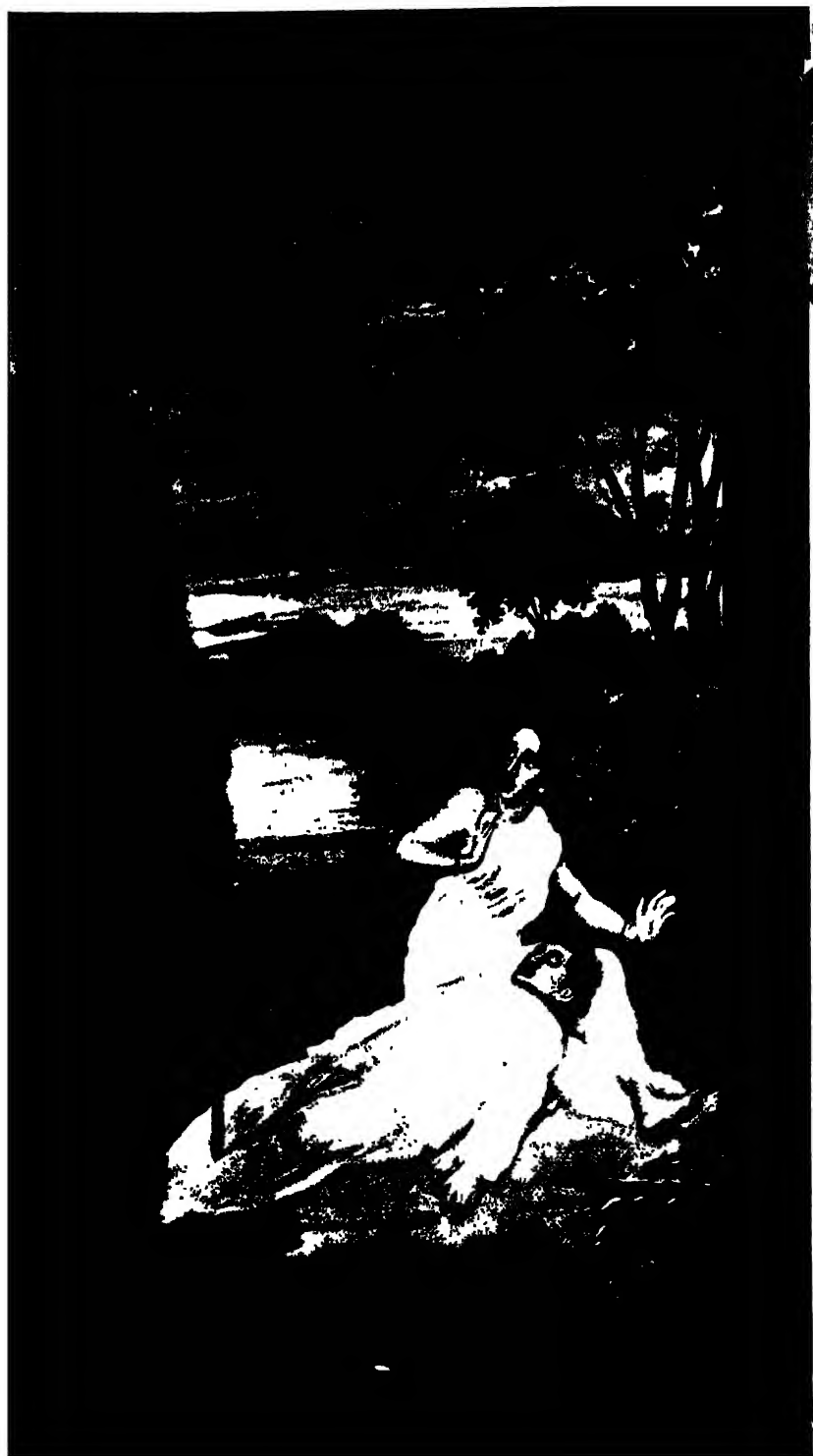
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Savitri and Satyavan

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. II]

NOVEMBER, 1905

[No. 3

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

An Idyll

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Of stately columns crowned with golden domes
High-towered Madra by the western sea ;
With many a kindly act and sober sway,
Sage Aswapati reigned thereof the king :
None other passion raged within his heart
Than peace which is the end of all just rule ;
And in such noble wise he cheered the folk,
Their joys were his—his sorrows they did share ;
So blameless lived the king and wrought their weal.

* * *

Him thus that ruled one sorrow vexed supreme ;
And she, his queen, was troubled like her lord.
Them in the autumn saddened evermore
The bitter anguish of a blasting hope
Which in the summertime of wedded life
Seemed ever to fulfil : for thro' the years
They ever longed yet offspring had they none.
So in the holy way, with prayer and alms
They lived the life with saintly purity ;
Till on a hallowed morn, while yet they stayed
At worship in the shrine, they twain beheld
The sacred altar glowed with fulsome light :

* A metrical version of this famous story appeared so early as nearly 25 years ago from the pen of the gifted Bengalee poetess, Miss Toru Dutt, and is to be found in her *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*. A couple of years after, Sir Edwin Arnold published another version of this story in his *Indian Idylls* under the name of *Savitri or Love and Death*. As this story is one of the most highly-conceived and pathetic episodes in the *Mahabharata*, we think our readers will forgive us for publishing a third version of it in the pages of *The Indian World*. Ed., I. W.

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And splendour, not of earth's dim kindling, blazed
With shining aureoles that trailed aloft
Celestial Savitri divinely bright,
Immaculate with heavenly halo crowned.
She, Virgin goddess of the fire that burns
Within the heart of things, to them, that deemed
Self-sacrifice life's noblest virtue, spake
In accents prophetic 'To ye, that pray,
Full joy a daughter of your blood shall bring
And blessedness.' And from their tranced gaze
She faded calmly as a vision fades.
So filled with kindly hope and joy, they passed
Unto the mansion and with thankful hearts.

Thereafter ere the year was past, the queen,
What time the tender-petalled spring-blooms blowed,
Bore to the king a princess beautiful
Like to the Virgin whom they twain had seen.
So by that name they called her and she grew,
Day after day, with fulsome loveliness
And laughter mingled with continual sport ;
Each hour did add a sweet new grace—with rose
From ocean-coral stolen tinged her lips ;
Set the mild pearls within, upon her brows
Twin crescents, and the lily on her cheek ;
Embalmed her breath and honeyed all her speech :
And filled with sapphire the orbs o' her dark eyes,
And cast a bright glow on her rounded limbs,
And laid the nightshade on her shining curls.
Like smooth-warm pearl that in the mother shell
Still ocean-cradled rounds the orient sphere,
Like moon that to the chased silvery zone
Girdles her crescent in the azure shrine,
Like summer-wind-wooded jasmine buds unveil
The snowy petals ivory-labyrinth-like
Bearing the chalice deep among the folds,
So waxing lovelier the princess fair
From sportful child to youthful maiden grew.
And when upon some holy eve she passed
Unto the shrine, the lordliest in the land,
Intent to offer worship to the gods,

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

The festive crowd would pause to gaze ; so great
Their joy, they oft would hold ' So kind a king
Had ne'er so fair a child.' A tale of praise
Lived on from mouth to mouth : her beauty shaped
The much-loved theme of many a maiden song.

While thus she lived, oft came within her mind
Vague thoughts of loneliness and oft she sighed ;
But soon forgot : so innocent the maid.
The garden-flowers she loved that blowed beside
The portals of her mansion and the birds
That warbled nigh the casements fringed with vine.
She prayed, and with her mates she loved to sport ;
Happy she dwelt among them : bright she fared
Like the bright moon amid the stars of night.
Till youth betought the coy sweet maid to blush ;
Like bashful flower that blossoms and lush fruit
That mellows ripening in the warm-bright sun,
The youth-sunned virgin fared : so fair, so full.
Like color to fresh tendrils, or fond dreams
Unto the wanton fancy by the night,
Like golden honey to the bud that blows,
Spring-music to the new-fledged brood, mild balm
Unto the rose at prime, or as the dew
That lightly pearls upon the morning sward,
So gently cometh love to maiden hearts.
The subtle passion coming as from heaven
All her weird fancy haunted as it came ;
Languid she grew, nor sport delighted her
Nor the society of her dear mates :
She loved to be alone, alone she pined.

* * *

So thro' the days she languished as with pain ;
Her lip's deep bloom but faded, and her eyes
Wan with the weight of unrelieved dreams
Sparkled like twin stars when the morn is nigh ;
And bland her cheeks as folded petals are
Of dew-pressed rath bud ere it weds the sun.
A paleness as of grief stole on her limbs,
And the long lines upon her slim soft throat
Yet deepened and she spake in whispers low :

THE INDIAN WORLD

Her heart, a hive of passionate memories,
And all her soul responsive to the thrill
Like to the echo of past melody,
She seemd a plaintive nymph—tho' sad yet fair.

The king, her father, seeing the wan maid
Was sore of heart : and thought and knew ere long.
Thereafter sought he many a noble prince
That the fair maid might wed ; but in the land
No royal youth, that loved her not too well,
Yet deemed him worthy of the princess' love :
For such excess of beauty wrought a charm
Full of high power and virtue severe,
She fared, amid the chaste empyrean
Of maiden purity, past earthly love,
Like some bright virgin star that burns aloft
Beyond the clouds afar—too still, too cold.

* * *

So counselled by the queen, upon a morn,
The monarch bad the maid far realms to roam
And choose her lord. Whereat with one deep blush,
Amorous Savitri on silver car
Beyond the bounds of stately Madra forth
Thro' sun and shade far over leagues of land ;
And while she passed, unto the wondering folk
Of the fair regions of Ind she seemed
Like the bright moon on pearly chariot,
Pacing the white clouds as in search of love
Athwart the heavens, amid the tranced stars,
Still wandering enamoured maiden-wise.
Bearing love's errand in her heart, the maid
Many a stately-portalled city passed
And holy groves where pious hermits dwelt.
Thro' all the rosy spring, thus sought the maid
The quest of love : nor found but sad returned
To Madra, while her virgin heart did ache
With the still burden of dark memories ;
For when she reached the border of the land,
Day passed behind the limits of the hills:
And from the bourne of sunset, night came on ;
And in her silver livery the moon

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

With stars attendant on her nightly throne.
So wan-eyed Savitri upon the banks
Of the long stream, that curved beneath the moon
And girdled like a shining zone the woods
On either side the gorgeous capital,
Amid the silken tents, and with her mates,
Rested in pain the still long lingering night,
In wakeful slumbers, dreaming of love's prime
And bitter pang of passion and the end
Thro' anguish unto earth-transcending peace
And joy and all the fulness in the wake.

* * *

Night folded all her mantle from the heavens,
And the night-wearied moon behind the crests
Of the far hills hung low ; it was the time
Between the sunglow and the pallid stars,
And the white swallow ventured in the dark
Ere other birds, that love to change the sky—
Fair pilots of the summer hours that wing
With fleecy clouds across the Indian blue.
And Savitri yet waking fancy-full
Mounted the golden barge, that waited her
Upon the brightening river-tide, and passed
Between the blossoming fringes of the wilds
Made vocal by the birds of prime ; till day
Had lit the woodlands and amid the leaves
Soft breezes blew and all about the sward
Myriads of dewy jewels sparkled bright
In varied splendour like to orient spars
Of splintered rainbow fallen from high heaven.

* * *

The golden shallop on the silver stream
Still gliding, like the golden crescent glides
The twilight-silvered heavens languidly,
Brave Satyavan regarded from afar
In wonderment : a youth of royal race,
Truth-loving dauntless prince and duteous son
Of Dyumatséna—sun-browned warrior-king
And lord of Salwa fallen on evil times.
That morning, ere it was his wont, the youth
Had wandered from the still small hermitage

THE INDIAN WORLD

Deep in the woodland, whither stayed his sire
Age-blind and with his mother queenly-meek,
By cruel foemen banished from their land.
To him, that in the wood, since the sad hour,
Wandered from blithesome lad and lithe of limb
To stalwart youth of noble princely mein,
Ne'er dawned the day so fair as on that morn
And all the wood so gay: for then it seemed
A brighter glow came on the field and flower,
A fuller melody the song-bird poured ;
The brook ran purer and a paler snow
Swept in the cloud and all about the sky
The sapphire deepened into balmier blue.
So in full gladsome mood and bright of cheer,
He climbing o'er a bank of reeds beheld
The golden glory brightly as it came;
Nigher and yet more nigh unto the edge
Of all the reedy bank, the royal barge
Moved listlessly along ; whereat he saw
The golden galley wrought of wond'rous skill
And heard melodious thrills of lute and harp
Attuned to sounds of music as of song;
And ere he knew, the galley neared the bank:
And music, that is love's sweet prelude, stole
Upon his ravished soul; and in that trance
Nor saw he yet the princess in the barge
But listed as she sang in maiden voice
A sweet love-idyl: she was wont to sing.

"There is a music yet more sweet than ours,
Whereof the echo is the chant of stars—
One melody yet in the sum of things
That wakens joy still passing utterance ;
It is of love : we listen while we may.

There is a splendour, and its name is love,
Whose shadow is the light of sun and moon
—One fire that burns for ever nor doth waste
And thaws the frozen eddies of the soul ;
It beckons : and we follow in the wake.

There is a chalice ever ful in Heaven
Of luscious nectar—angels call it love—
In sweetness past dew-honey milky-gold,
That never ebbing overflows the brink ;
And it doth spill : we drink and live for ever.

There is a fragrance that doth never die,
A perfume sweeter than of earthly flowers ;
It is of love—the bloom that never fades,
Whereof the essence nor cold frost doth kill ;
And it doth blow for ever : and we breathe.

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

There is a wound yet full of earthly throes,
One bitter heart-pang thro' the mortal hours ;
Still doth it pain, still do we pine for peace—
Life is the wound that aches us for a while :
Love is the balm that heals the wound of life.

Love hath the virtue of high constancy
And still endures past the mirage of time ;
And still we think and dream of love : and feel
It is a memory—of all we knew,
A fancy—of the things we need to know."

She ended, while the music seemed to flow
Still from her lips, and heaved a faint deep sigh ;
She knew not that he heard her as she sang,
She knew not that he heard her as she sighed :
She sang and sighed for all her heart was full.
He heard, and spake—but all his voice was low,
'A spirit from high Heaven—earthward bound—
Of light and music that doth sing and shine
With fulness on the wings.' Whereat the barge
Still neared the bank—in shape like ocean-fish
Fantastic yet with beauty of its own :
For all the length was wrought of native gold
And flecked with lustrous opal on the sides ;
Thereon, fast knotted to a slender mast
Of chased silver, hung a silken sail
In color stainless as the white sea-foam ;
Two rounded sapphires burned like eyes aloft
The prow like to the slimy creature's front
Majestic as when on the brine it sweeps ;
And at the rear it seemed the monster curved
In graceful convolusion; either side
Oars shaped like fins propelled ; and on the brink
The cunning chissel hewed a fringe of spheres
Ornate, half visible; but all within
Was laid with burnished ivory, whereon,
Luxurious-lovely, willing fancy wrought
Many a rare design and fain excelled
Consenting art of nature and adorned
With gorgeous treasure of the grateful mine:
Agate, avanturine, and amethyst,
Rose-coral, orient ruby, and sea-pearl,
And flaming topaz-spar, and emerald.
And in the barge he saw her, with her mates,

THE INDIAN WORLD

Like thronéd goddess yet too fair for truth ;
Bathed in the dream-like haze of jewels, wan
With moony languor of amorous eyes,
She seemed in virgin trance: of pale pink silk
She wore, and on her bosom shone a star
Of scintillating diamond that did seem
Love's beacon kindled by her soul within.

He wondered, but ere long the galley paused
Upon the flood, beside the bank; and she
Alighted and her mates upon the sward.
Awhile they lingered by the reedy bank,
By trailing vines and starry-hearted blooms,
And passed beside the tangles nigh the stream;
Them followed not the maid but stayed alone
Beside the bank, intent to gather flowers:
And long she stayed nor gathered, for she sought
The sweet heart-flower whereof the balm is love
And soul the seed; her watched he all the while
Like one in hues enamoured and thus thought
'Perchance the princess that doth linger so;
Methinks these eyes have seen her elsewhere ;
I seem to know her—it is strange but true.'
He thus and forth unstrung the bow he held
And down the bank descended thro' the reeds
Toward the maid : the arrows in the quiver
Splintered the sunbeam as it smote the hilt
And made a clang sonorous as he moved.
And Savitri toward her coming saw
Enamoured Satyavan among the reeds ;
God-like he fared from far: his stately height
Like sculptured alabaster milky-fair.
And when he came, it seemed unto the maid
As tho' she felt a fulness at her heart;
He from afar, yet stricken by the flash
Of sudden lightning in the tender blue
Of all her eyes, awhile did pause: then nigh
Unto the maiden coming that was fair,
The long love-weighted silence thus did stir
To tuneful echo answering mellow faint
'O spirit knowing naught of earthly woe—'

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

Thereat the maid, her heart within her urged
With quickened beat, 'Than all yon steely shafts
The words do hurt me more—' 'The fault forgive,
And speak, o gentle angel, nor be still :'
He faltered 'yet I make amends with love—'
She blushed nor spake awhile—the passion lurked
Still in the depth of coral-tinted lips
Like purple in the petals of the rose—
Then, while the lilies nodded in the stream,
She spake, in languor swan-like and in grace
Like coy nymph born of sunlight and of sea,
'Love sees no fault that love doth not forgive—'
Whereat the youth, enraptured as he stood
All in the long shy worship of her eyes,
'O beauteous maiden, speaking yet more sweet
Than honey-throated bulbul in rose leaves
Warbles thro' moonlight with excess of love,
Chaste youth doth keep the holy vigil so
In aftertime such vision to behold:
Unloved so long I love thee with true love.'
And the fair maid that loved the valiant youth,
Still as he spake, a sweet consent did give
Or seemed to give. So in the woodland nook,
Where brooklets tarried and the winds did pause,
And song-bird's warble and the bee's low hum
Came like the echo of some sweet faint sound,
Amid bright blossoms like to hearts that burn
And leaves that trembled like to souls that yearn,
He wooed the maiden: and unto them twain
Each honeyed whisper, each caressing glance—
One long eternity of sound and light,
And e'ery smile—a passing ravishment.
Till when the sun, ascending, drew the veil
Of filmy dew from off the woodland green
And glowing kindled thro' the quivering leaves
Rose-purple and azure and vert and gold,
With sheaves of bud and bloom her mates returned ;
But ere they came, unto the maid the prince,
Love nestling in his bosom, spake 'Thy choice
The king, thy sire, may not permit—' whereat
Still loth to part him urged the maiden thus,
Her eyes all radiant with love and trust,

THE INDIAN WORLD

'True love in duty doth fulfil itself
Nor errs and so the right of choice doth own.'
What time they came; and Satyavan, in act
While yet the tall wind-wooing reeds to gain,
Still fain had spoke—but they, her mates, were nigh.
They coming, in their hands the fragrant wealth
Of early flowering wilds, beheld the maid
Toward him looking that ere long did seem
A shadowy figure gliding thro' the reeds.
Thereat she spake not—but her face did blush—
And with her mates unto the barge returned
And sailed : but all beside the reedy bank
Still lingering it glided on the stream.
And once she turned toward the youth that climbed
Unto the crest : love in his eyes, he marked
The languid close of that voluptuous glance
And felt his soul did follow ; but the barge
Moved on: the sweet wind from on either bank
As tho' amorous flowed in and shed balm
Cooling her glowing lips but they did glow;
And the cold flood enamoured rippled fast
Kissing the golden oars, and, ill content
The burning image of the barge to hold,
Still oft made wanton sallies to the rim
And spilt therein—a rain of moony spray ;
While urged with melody, upon the stream
Still glided on the golden barge afar.
The tranced lover listed till ere long
Fainter and yet more faint the music came,
The last sad echo of a still low song
Like love's lament and prayer; and thro' the dew
Of morn he lingered under sunlit heavens,
E'en from his aching sight, the maiden fair
Of purest mortal essence and divine
Disappeared like heavenly vision bright
Doth vanish in the native element.
Awhile he lingered on the bank and saw
Or thought he saw upon stream the barge
That bore the maid ; till morning wrought a blaze
Too bright about the land from end to end
And veiled in blinding splendour all the hills :
And he toward the hermitage returned.

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

And since that day, the youth did feel a throe
That wrought a bitterness into his heart—
The pang of solitude ; his soul did chafe
Wounded with virgin beauty passion-past :
Beauty with grace of rounded loveliness,
The charm of lips that uttered nought but joy,
And eyes in whose deep blue love sat enthroned.
He saw her presence in all things he saw,
He heard her voice in all sounds he heard :
A mellow light illumed the day and filled
The ever lovely vagueness of the dream ;
Along the pearl-pale silver of the moon,
Along the arrowy splendour of the stars,
A brightness flashed ; and ever and anon
On the long eddies of the breezes came
A music with the breath of whispering woods,
With liquid warble of the brook and bird
And the faint murmur of the wash of seas
Afar beyond the limits of the hills.
Her name wrought in his memory a tale :
And all his thoughts, like bees about the bloom,
Still swarmed about delicious love and flew.

* * *

And in such wise the maiden beautiful,
Fair Savitri, was pining in her heart ;
And when she sang, her sweet voice failed ; and oft
In sleep her playmates heard her speak the name
She loved : they knew not that she loved the prince
Love worked a golden vision and she saw.
In dreams or thought she saw the prince she loved ;
His name was like a prophet to her heart,
His form flashed like a beacon to her soul.
Till when the moon, a bow of silvery pearl
What time she reached the land, amid the heavens
Rekindled to the full, unto the queen
Bashful she spake and low—love like a swan
Amorous swam in the blue depth of her eyes—
'Him by the border of the land that lives,
Truth-loving prince of Salwa, with his sire
Foe-banished from his realm, my lord I choose.'
Thereat the queen unto the king bespake
The maiden's choice; and he unto the sage

THE INDIAN WORLD

Austere Narada that graced the while
His court addressed with reverence. Whereat
Him counselled thus the sage of kindly cheer,
That long had wandered in the godly way
And lived the hermit in the holy wise
And knowledge owned supreme, 'Fair is the youth
Of noble parts and e'ery part a prince ;
Him nature made the worthiest of men :
And such excess of virute makes him rich.
But him a stranger destiny awaits,
Unknown—and yet more strange : for in the wake
Of dewy eve when the first moon may shine
Full-orbed and bright upon the virgin brow
Of coming spring his term of mortal years
The youth will have fulfilled—'what time the queen
Was saddened and the king ; but he thus spake
'She of the fire hath said that the fair maid
Full joy and blessedness would bring.' The sage
Awhile nor spake and lingered ; but ere long
Seeing the maiden firmness of her heart
That pleaded vow austere, thus replied
'There is more grace than any mortal knows
Wherewith high Heaven doth fulfil all ends :
And goodness therewithal doth urge the soul
Thro' loving worship unto nobler work.
Tho' strive against the ills of life we may
And all the evil that doth spring thereof
And battle with the sins of flesh, to know
We may not seek of what is yet to be
Nor lift the veil from off the face of things ;
So let the princess wed the youth.' He spake
And blessed the royal maiden and passed on.

* * * *

Thereafter all the land was deckt with flowers ;
And the great shrine with gorgeous ornament,
Whereof the floor was marble and the roof
With ebony and sandal richly wrought ;
And to the holy altar, where the fire
—Emblem of the Most High—burned all in blaze,
They twain came hand in hand—the youthful prince
In grace that seemed a god of some fair world,
And the imperial maiden blushing fair:

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

A fragrant wreath of loveliest flowers she held
Fresh gathered from the fields and blowing woods ;
And like a sky-nymph clad in shining blue,
She seemed a native virgin of the heavens.
They came; and each unto the other swore
Eternal love and trust ; thereat the maid,
Amid the gladdening cheer of loyal folk
And drowning sound of loudly pealing bells,
About him hung the wreath herself had made.
So they were wed, and many a blessing word
Was whispered by the old and holy men;
And all the folk in festive merriment
Made happy murmur and were filled with joy.

* * *

Thereafter, counselled, with her youthful lord,
Like to faith wedded unto fortitude,
Full-sweet-souled Savitri toward the woods,
Where lay his peaceful home among the flowers
Nigh the land's verge beside the river-brink,
Rejoicing left the city beautiful.
Nor ornament she wore nor mantle rich ;
Crowned with the bright star of a life sublime,
Clad in the majesty of innocence,
The hermitage she entered like a queen,
And ruled with acts of fullest gentleness ;
For gracious mercy from her genial soul
Flowed, like a rillet wells out from a fount
That overflows, and blessed ; and reverence
Dwelt in her heart and truth upon her lips;
Kindly she served: her service sweeter made
Willing obedience ; in such pure wise,
The blind king and the queen she cheered and him
She loved and all, her very name did sound
Like to a benediction and she seemed,
What time she spake e'er with sweet utterance,
Like native virtue yet in act to pray.
Her uses were all royal, and her word
Noble, and ever pious were her ways.

* * * *

Yet thro' the hours they twain lived one sweet life :
Thro' odorous noon rose-wreathed and lily-crowned
Mantled in blaze and glowing zoned in blue,

THE INDIAN WORLD

Or when with cool recess of shade came on
Long languorous night star-girdled moonbeam-clad
Fragrant and hung with veils of pearly dew,
They wandered under gentle rain of blooms
Amid the wooded solitude, in act
To bunch the blossom and to trail the vine.
Oft morning with the charm of bloom and bird
Them found amorous on the reedy banks ;
Thro' gentle dews and scented greenwood groves
Of palm and pine, they spent the joyous hours ;
In cool green bowers that shunned the blazing noon,
Ay fall of silvery waters musical,
And under whispering leaves they whispered love ;
And lingered late beside the rippling mere,
In balmy glooms where glow-worms love to dwell ;
And oft thro' all the lonely night they stayed
On windy wolds beneath the moon and stars ;
And all the while between them passed so full
The ecstasy of love—such bland caress,
Amorous glances and endearing smiles,
Many a pressed kiss and warm embrace,
Their very souls met in one being ; love
Seemed ne'er too full ; for all true love nor cloy
Nor satiates but e'er is infinite.

* * * *

So they twain lived ; till with the circling year,
The rose-green glow of springtime shimmering waxed
To summer's blue gleam that thro' burning hours
Mellowed to autumn-gold : and autumn-gold
Soon languished into leaden winter gloom ;
And quickening thro' dark spaces of the woods,
Still in the wake of winter came the spring
With crimson-emerald glimmer on the leaves.
But springtime coming wrought a bitterness
Into her soul ; for when she saw the moon,
A pale-pearl-sickle languid silvery faint
Yet lingering on the verge of twilight heavens,
Full were her eyes with tears : she sighing wan
Her heart went sorrowing in passionate grief ;
Alone she knew, and thought with silent pain
Of all the sage had said—it burned her soul
What time she thought, as when she heard him speak :

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

For with the crescent nightly waxing still,
The time drew nigh the passing of her lord.
So thro' the days that followed, pale she grew
But all about her burned a strange still light,
Like to the vestal halo of the moon,
And in that light she seemed past fear and grief :
And they of the still woods marked and not marked
The change that wrought a glow upon her face.
Night after night she wakened thro' the dark
And kept the vigils thro' the midnight hours,
Chanting in faint low murmur soul's still prayer
And grateful praise ; such worship solaced her,
And she in pious mood from day to day
In reverence saint-like dwelt and faith austere.

* * * *

So passed the days ; and she nor deckt herself
With flowers, erewhile her only ornaments.
And when twelve moons had kindled in the sky
Brighter and yet more bright thro' rath springtime,
She passed into a life of fast: nor ate
Of the wild berry nor she quaffed the drink
Of the wild spring. Three days she fasted thus,
Nor Dyumatsena and the matron queen
Forbade, her while in act thus to fulfil
Her vow: they ever loved her pious ways.
And on the morning of that fateful day
Fair Savitri gave alms ; and with her lord,
As was her wont, unto the holy men,
Pacing, amid the woods made reverence ;
And they did bless them 'Long ye twain may live'.
Trembling she heard and moaned in faint low voice
'Too sweet such blessing to fulfil itself.'
Woe-worn she seemed ; but while she faltered thus,
A sigh that swelled her bosom she suppressed,
A tear that gleamed within her eye she held.
Till eve with deep-leaved shadows in the wood
Came darkening ; what time, as was his use,
He left the hermitage to cull wild fruits
And gather holy embers from afar.
And him she followed in the twilight gleam,
By them permitted, thro' the wildwood way ;
Nor knew he of the end, nor unto him

THE INDIAN WORLD

She spake: she lacked expression for her heart
Was full. It was the hour the bee returned
Unto the bloom and song-bird to the nest ;
And Satyavan ere long thus unto her,
That followed him with silent tread, 'Methinks
Stronger than death is love : nor death's red flame
May thaw the kinship forged in love's white fire.'
She heard and faltered 'aye' but in her ear
The blessing lingered like a spell and sounded
Prophetic of the blissful end : the thought
Pressed balmy hope upon her bleeding soul ;
And from long spaces of the woodland came
Many a still weird far off mystic voice
And whispered 'Follow, follow to the end.'
So, like to splendour burning after sun
Ere sombre eclipse like a veil of night
Doth quench the orb of day, she followed him.

* * * *

But now in the still wake of brightening stars,
Like jewels culled from sunset radiance,
The gleam of twilight deepened into gloom
And they by tree and tangle wandering
Nigh a dark cave came on ; night like a mist
Invested all the hollow and the wind
Swept loud and swayed the crests of hoary trees
That clutched the native rock with roots of steel ;
And lo, thro' leafy spaces of the woods,
The full-orbed gleam of moon upon the verge
Of lucid east burned quickening the dark.
What time still toiling Satyavan did feel
A dull cold heaviness too nigh his heart ;
And forth great drops like pallid dew of death
Distilling gathered on his aching brow ;
And he ere long spake unto her that sighed
'My vision fades and all my brow doth ache,
And galled weariness doth own my limbs,
Quenching the virtue from the lips that burn ;
My sense doth reel—methinks I needs must sleep :
So may I dream of thy sweet love and live.'
He thus : and all amid the silent wood,
Anon he laid himself to sleep : her lap
Did serve the pillow to his troubled head ;

SAVITRI AND SATYAVAN

The while he spake, e'en from his trembling hand
Slipt all the savoury burden he had culled——
Spring-fruitage, holy embers, and sweet flowers.
And Savitri alone amid the wilds,
All the sad prophet's word remembering,
Yet mourned in silence; but ere long he passed
Into a still deep swoon—till in the dark,
Life's languid fire burned ebbing tremulously
And like the flickering flame was quenched : he seemed
Yet fair in death, as alabaster cold.
Then burst her still sad heart in passionate grief ;
And she, lone queen, sighed weeping bitter tears
And wept full-throated sighing mournfully.
She wailed—and all the woodland seemed to wear
The dull dark sombre veil of kindred woe :
The wildbrook gushed to brink a flood of tears,
And forest trees too full wept liquid balm,
And slender woodbine trembled, and the bloom
Drooped sighing incense from the tender folds.

* * * *

So passionately she wailed and in her grief
Saw not the moon for tears; then all the wood
A darkness denser than the night did seem
To veil and all her soul. But in the gloom
Ere long a vision as of light she saw
That quenched the moonbeam struggling thro' the leaves
Crowned with a coronal of star-shaped flame
And zoned in splendour, Yama nigh the queen
Shone silent : one hand the beaming trident held,
And other with the fiery fingers clutched
The fatal noose. Whereat unto the god,
With folded hands she bowed and reverence,
And after low she spake 'Who may ye be
So mantled in unearthly light ?' He thus
'Yet know me Lord of Death that in such guise
Ne'er sinful mortals can behold ; thy lord,
That righteously the life while here hath lived,
By heaven ordained must part : him elsewhere
Thus from the earth I bear,' The angel thus,
The while in mazy meshes of the noose
A spark did kindle like the star-glow bright
Amid the fleecy films of thinnest cloud,

THE INDIAN WORLD

And passed—him followed Savitri alone
In tears and urged by sorrow for her lord—
Toward the southern spaces of the world.

* * * *

The shining angel thus ere long did speak
To her that followed still amid the dark
'O stay: him living thou did'st love and serve ;
And so thy last sad duty to thy lord
In burning anguish yet ere long fulfil
With galled obsequies of sighs and tears
That mortals owe unto the loving dead ;
With holy prayer his parting soul embalm,
Nor follow—for no mortal hath such choice——
Yet noblest woman, unto thee a boon :
Choose thou and go; thy lord may not return.'
Thereat, in pity for the blind old king,
She prayed that he might, thro' the years ere long,
Of Salwa once again the sovereign be ;
And urged the aching malady be healed
That quenched the burning vision from his eyes.
She spake and wandered in the gleaming wake
Of the bright angel moving thro' the woods.
Her following in tears the angel thus
'The wood is lonely and the way is dark.'
And she nor stayed but faltered, all her eyes
Beaming with fullest worth of love and faith,
'Love's golden lamp doth chase the gloom of life,
Nor loneliness in that sweet presence dwells :
So I do follow where my lord may go.'
And yet another boon in kindly wise
The monarch of dark regions did accord;
What time she sought an heir unto her sire,
And followed : her great Yama thus addressed
'Yet thou art weary and the night is cold.'
And Savitri with perfect saintliness
'Me wandering on love's long pilgrimage,
Love's pilgrim bound unto the shrine of love,
Nor still cold earthly weariness can stay.'
And once again the angel bade her choose :
She chose eternal virtue born of love,
And followed after the unearthly gleam.
Then seeing her, the angel in such wise

SAVITRI AND SATPAVAN

'Afar the altar and the aisles are still.'
And she, the passionate hope still cherishing,
'Athwart the glimmering spaces of the stars,
Beyond the dim dark limits of the soul,
Love soars thro' time till yet the goal be reached.'
Again the angel spake : again she chose
The joy of motherhood in aftertime
And followed still amid the quickening blaze.
Whereat the voice angelic thus did wake
The solemn stillness brooding overworld
'One only boon, and thou shalt so return.'
She faltered : in her manner blended seemed
The saving grace of love and chastity,
'True love is full of virtue that is great,
And love's own quality is sacrifice :
So I do urge that yet my lord may live.'
Her gentle words approval wrought divine ;
And while the splendour kindled yet more bright,
The shining angel vanished from her gaze.

* * * *

Then she unto her lord athwart the woods,
Like moonbeam gliding thro' the dark, returned
And laid her hand upon his icy brow ;
And lo, he wakened from the sleep of death :
And all that passed the while to him did seem
But like the memory of vanished dream.
Then unto her he thus, with deep low voice,
That lingered trembling by his weary side,
'Thy love for me hath claimed me unto thee.'
And she—all melancholy ere the while
With pathos of unuttered sorrow veiled—
What time he spake, full-hearted found not words
—Weird-wistful love-entranced ravished still
With ecstasy of joy unspeakable;
Ere long a mist did gather in her eyes
And tremulous lips thus shaped the utterance
'Nay, in blest love ye chose the earth for me.'
Thereat sweet words of solace unto her
He spake ; and forth toward the hermitage
They twain did wander by the wildwood way :
Anon the glow-worm glimmered in the gloom
And made a gold green gleam amid the leaves,

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And night-bird's warble stole on the still hours
Like moon's bright silver on the dark blue skies ;
From hoary woods unto the homely wolds
They passed, as from wild passion unto peace,
Into the calm light from the deep dark night,
From death's dull gloom into the gleam of love :
Resplendent Satyavan—the flower of men,
Fair Savitri—the pearl of womankind.

R. V. R.

ADJUSTMENT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS

That there is a constant adjustment and re-adjustment going on in the moral and physical world every educated man knows and feels. Every organism must be constantly undergoing some change or other. Even stagnation is a kind of change or transformation. A healthy society is so by virtue of its constantly putting forth efforts towards a better condition. Life is said by Spencer to be subject to constant adjustment to fresh environments. To rest contented with the existing order of things, however satisfactory it may appear to be, is to court deterioration and await destruction. There is no limit to progress and that even the most conservative race—as we Hindus are—must be undergoing some change or other, sometimes perceptible and sometimes not, is indisputable. The social history of India is but a ceaseless struggle to adjust its customs and institutions to the requirements of different times and civilisation. The aim and object of every social reformer should be to turn the course of evolution to our advantage—to see that the changes are for the betterment and progress of the nation.

It is generally argued that societies like constitutions must grow and not be made. This is a stern truth, no doubt, but it has its own limitations. The truth holds good in the case of normal societies. But where there is any abnormal growth or decay, the law fails to act and the conscious interference of man to set matters right becomes indispensable. That there is something rotten in the state of our society can not be doubted. We have no end of social and moral evils in India. The ambition of a crafty priesthood to gain power and distinction for itself, the grip of custom and the tyranny of caste which suppress all individuality and make of every man a mere cog in the vast machinery of Hindu Society, the spread of a mis-understood philosophy that makes the

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majority of men forget their own destiny, the absence of education among the people and such other things have brought on decay and degeneration in our national life.

A clever and thoughtful adjustment to modern conditions and environments is necessary to place the Hindu Society once more on its path of progress. We are doomed to degenerate as long as we stick up to worn-out traditions and moss-grown institutions. No nation can hope to make any progress unless it rises above ancestral superstitions and begins to march abreast of the times.

‘Go back to the illustrious days of the old,’ cry some. But those who say so commit the serious blunder of moving the hands of the clock backwards and thus spoiling its mechanism. It is impossible that India of today, after having come into contact for more than two hundred years with the west, should go back to the ideals and conditions of India of 3000 years ago. The progress that man has achieved during so many centuries in every branch of life and thought must be effaced out before we can ever dream of such a revival. And it is generally ignored that a revival or relapse to ancient conditions is impracticable, were it even desirable and prudent. For myself, I have a strong admiration for our past but I can not admire an institution simply because it is old. In the apt words of Ranade—“when we are asked to revive our old institutions, people seem to me to be very much at sea as to what it is they seek to revive. What particular period of our history is to be taken as the old—whether the period of the Vedas, of the *Smritis*, of the *Puranas*, or of the Mahomedans, or the modern Hindu times? Our usages have been changed from time to time by a slow process of growth and in some cases of decay and corruption, and you can not stop at any particular period without breaking the continuity of the whole.....What shall we revive? Shall we revive the old habits of the people when the most sacred of our castes indulged in all the abominations, as we now understand them, of animal food and intoxicating drink, which exhausted every section of our country’s zoology and botany? The men and gods of those days ate and drank forbidden things to excess, in a way no revivalist will now venture to recommend. Shall we revive the twelve forms of sons or eight forms of marriage, which include capture and illegitimate intercourse (now punishable by law)? Shall we revive the old liberties taken by the Rishis and by the wives of Rishis with the marital tie? Shall we revive the hecatombs of animals sacrificed from year’s end to year’s end, in which even human beings were not spared as propitiatory offerings to God?

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Shall we revive the Sati.....or the custom of many husbands to one wife or of many wives to one husband? Shall we require our Brahmins to cease to be land-lords and gentlemen, and turn into beggars and dependents upon the king as in olden times?" Reform and not revival seems thus to be the means of our social progress. A proper adjustment of our condition can only be effected by reforming our present-day institutions with a view to bring our ancient civilisation into line with the modern.

Again, it is impossible that in the ceaseless war of nations the weak and degenerate communities should escape the commanding influence of the strong and the progressive peoples of the world. We, the Hindus, have been placed at present under such circumstances that to neglect the beckoning voices of the west and to attempt to pursue an independent career would end in our total destruction. It is inevitable that we should follow the West, if we care for progress at all. Our customs and institutions must be adjusted to adapt ourselves to modern times and circumstances. This is what Japan has done. Writing to the *North American Review*, Count Okuma points out that the Japanese were for many years struggling to expel the foreign element from the country lest they should be losing their nationality. But the odds ultimately proved against them; they found at length that it was impossible to drive away altogether the foreigner or his influence from the land and in the process of their national regeneration they submitted therefore to the inevitable. They eagerly imbibed all that was best in the foreigner and his civilisation and went in with a headlong spirit for everything modern. Considering the peculiar circumstances under which it is placed, it seems impossible that India, unlike Japan, should escape from the influences of the west. We ought to elicit everything that is best from the foreign civilisation that has been thrust on us and thereby adjust ourselves to the needs of the time. It is a foolish fear that at times makes our wisest men shudder with the thought that the adaptation of a foreign civilisation would tend to denationalise India. Our history teaches us that, notwithstanding our numerous attempts to adjust ourselves to fresh environments, we have retained our national identity in the past. The fear then seems unfounded that by imbibing the best elements of European civilisation we should now lose our nationality. Nationality is something deeper and more comprehensive than the cut of the hair or the fashion of the dress, and a change in the surface is not necessarily a radical or an organic change. It would not do, therefore, to set our face against all adaptation of western customs. The Indian

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race has become too antiquated for modern conditions of success. Our institutions, if we want to escape from the crushing onslaughts of the west, must be changed. If ever Japan has any message to India, it is this—that we should try and assimilate all that is best in the civilisation of the West before we can aspire to be called a civilised nation. Call the process revival, reformation, revolution or re-adjustment, call it by any name you please, but you should fix this ideal in your view. No doubt, to guard ourselves against unwholesome revolutions, we can not but adopt the policy of compromise but the ideal should never be lost sight of, for “if amidst all those compromises which the circumstances of the times necessitate or are thought to necessitate, there exists no true conception of better or worse in social organisation, if nothing beyond the exigencies of the moment are attended to and the provisionally best is habitually identified with the ultimately best, there can not be any true progress. However distant may be the goal and however often intervening obstacles may necessitate deviation in our course toward it, it is obviously requisite to know whereabouts it lies.”

T. S. Ramasastri

A REVIEW OF EARLY INDIAN LITERATURE

KRISHNA LEGEND

Krishna-worship forms the dominating feature of modern Hinduism. Thousands of souls still offer to *Krishna* daily libations of water with flowers and perfumes. His symbol, the *Salagram*, still continues the *sine qua non* in every domestic rite and religious ceremony in Hindusthan. His festivals, in one shape or other, still attract the largest number of pilgrims.

In olden days, he played no less an important part in the religious life of the people. The most popular of the *Puranas*, the *Bhagavata*, the *Visnu*, the *Brahmavaiivarta* were all expressly devoted to his exploits, and the more sacred *Harivamsa* dealt exclusively with his career. The atmosphere of the *Mahabharata* is suffused with Krishna-worship. Identifying him with Brahma it formed the very basis of such great philosophical works as the *Bhagavad-Gita* and the *Brahma-Sutra*. From the *Brahma-Sutra* alone were evolved powerful philosophical systems, such as the *Advaita* of *Samkaracharya*, the *Dvaita* of *Ramanuja* and the *Visishtadvaita* of *Madhvacharya*.

To trace the gradual evolution of this popular religion must be a fascinating study, specially to the Hindu. Unfortunately the known facts of its earlier history are few and have survived in more or less coloured by personal refractions. A religion in the hands of its followers tends to become exaggerated and mythical ; the more extravagant it becomes, the more credulous or the further removed in time these followers grow. When described by followers of different faiths, bad motives are often attributed, while the more important facts are often distorted, suppressed or ignored. For religion has the great power of stirring men's emotions deeply : and deeply stirred feelings always tend to warp judgment and to make thought and action run on the groove of prejudices.

Nevertheless, records to some extent check one another ; and the larger the number of facts and the wider the view, the conclusions therefrom will more and more approach reliability and definiteness. It is therefore the first duty of the historian to gather as many of the old records as he can find out and to suspend judgment until a sufficient quantity of materials have accumulated for comparison.

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Nowhere is the saying of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus more applicable than in the history of religion.

"If any man is able to convince me and show me that I do not think or act right, I will gladly change. For I seek the truth by which no man is ever injured. But he is injured who abides in his error and ignorance."

I. VASUDEVA IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

There is a life of Vasudeva in the Jataka no 454, known as the Ghata-Jataka and scattered allusions to him are found in some of the other Jatakas. The Ghata-Jataka has been translated by Mr. Rouse (the *Jatakas*, Vol. IV. pp. 50-8). But as this translation is somewhat free, I give a more literal one. The Text is Fausboll's (IV. 79-89.) and its paging is quoted in square brackets. The introduction to, and the end of, the Jataka have no real relevancy to the story and are omitted.

(a) GHATA-JATAKA

In the (days) past in *Uttarapatha* in Kamsa's tract in the town of Asitanjana, a king named Maka-Kamsa reigned. He had two sons, Kamsa and Upakamsa, and a daughter by the name of Devagabbha. On her birth-day the astrologer-Brahmanas foretold—"The son born of her womb will destroy the Kamsa land and the Kamsa line." From great affection the King could not kill her; "her brothers will know (what to do)"—(so thinking) living his days out he died. On his death Kamsa became king and Upakamsa the viceroy. They thought: "If we kill (our) sister, it would be vile; by not giving her in marriage and keeping her without husband, we will watch her." Making a single-pillared (*eka-thunakam*) storied building they made her live in it. Her maid-servant was named Nandagopa; whose husband Andhakavenhu was the servant that kept the watch.

At that time in *Uttara-Madhura* (a king) by name Mahasagara reigned. He had two sons, Sagara and Upasagara. On (their) father's death Sagara became king, and Upasagara viceroy. He (Upasagara) was a friend of Upakamsa, and had learnt arts together in the same teacher's family. In his brother's zenana having acted meanly and being detected he ran away, and came to Upakamsa in the Kamsa land. Upakamsa introduced him to King Kamsa; the king [80] gave him great honour.

While going to attend on the king, he saw the single-pillared house, the residence of Devagabbha; and on asking "whose is this dwelling" and hearing the facts he fell in love with Devagabbha.

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Devagabbha, too, seeing him one day going with Upakamsa to wait on the king, asked "who is he ;" and hearing from Nandagopa—"he is son of Mahasagara, by name Upasagara" fell in love with him. Giving a present to Nandagopa, Upasagara said : "Sister, can you (arrange) a meeting with Devagabbha." Saying "Master, this is not difficult," she explained the matter to Devagabbha. Being really in love with him and hearing (her) words, she agreed (saying) "very well." Giving a signal to Upasagara, in the night-time, Nandagopa brought him up in the house. He had connexion with Devagabbha.

Now..... Devagabbha conceived. In course of time her pregnancy became public. The brothers questioned Nandagopa. Begging for safety she told (them) the secret. "We cannot kill sister ; if she brings forth a daughter, her, too, we will not kill ; if a son, him we will put to death" (so) thinking after hearing (this) they gave Devagabbha (in marriage) to Upasagara. On the full maturity of pregnancy she gave birth to a daughter. On hearing (this), the brothers were delighted and satisfied and named her Anjanadevi. They gave them for enjoyment the village named Goraddhamana. Taking Devagabbha Upasagara lived in this village Govaddhamana.

Devagabbha again conceived. That day Nandagopa too conceived. When the full time for delivery came, on the same day, Devagabbha gave birth to a son and Nandagopa to a daughter. For fear of the loss of (her) son, Devagabbha sent him in secret to Nandagopa and brought her daughter. The birth was reported to the brother. They asked "born, son or daughter?" [81,] and were told "daughter," (when) they said "rear her up." In this way Devagabbha gave birth to ten sons, Nandagopa to ten daughters. The sons grew up with Nandagopa, and the daughters with Devagabbha ; and none knew the secret. The eldest son of Devagabbha was named Vasudeva, the second Baladeva, the third Chandadeva, the fourth Suriyadeva, the fifth Agnideva, the sixth Varunadeva, the seventh Ajjuna, the eight Pajjuna, the ninth Ghata-Pandit, the tenth Amkura. They came to be known as "the sons of Andhaka-venhu, the servant, the ten servitor-brethren."

In the course of time they grew big ; and being very strong and fiercely harsh, they went about plundering, and even plundered the goods which were being sent to the king. People assembling in the king's courtyard complained. "The sons of Andhaka-venhu the slave, the ten brethren are looting the land." The king called Andhakavenhu and rebuked him (saying) : "why do you permit your

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sons to loot." The people complained the second time and the third time, whereon the king again rebuked him. Afraid of being killed he begged the boon (of safety) from the king, and told him the secret. "Lord, they are not my sons but sons of Upasagara." The king, alarmed, asked of the counsellors, "in what way can they be got hold of." They replied—"Lord, they are wrestlers ; hold a wrestling match in the town ; when they will enter the wrestling ring, they can be seized and killed." Chanura and Mutthika, the two wrestlers, were sent for ; and by beat of drum it was proclaimed in the town "on the seventh day will (there) be a wrestling match."

At the king's gate the wrestling ring was prepared, the enclosure made, the ring decorated, and the flag of victory tied. The whole town became agitated ; circle after circle, tier over tier, were tied. Chanura and Mutthika, coming to the ring, went about jumping, roaring and clapping on the arms. The ten brethren, too, while coming looted the washermen's stalls and put on coloured robes, from perfumer's shops [82] plundered perfume, from the garland makers' shops garlands ; and with the body perfumed, wearing garlands and with rings in the ears they entered the wrestling ring jumping, roaring, clapping on the arms.

At that time Chanura was walking about clapping on the arms. Seeing him Baladeva (thought) : "He should not be pressed by the hand." (So) seizing a thick elephant-strap from the elephant-stable, jumping, roaring, throwing the strap round Chanura's belly, joining the strap-ends into one, lifting (him) up, swung (him) round over the head, pressed (him) on the ground and (then) threw (him) outside the enclosure. On the death of Chanura, the king sent for the wrestler Mutthika. Rising up jumping and roaring, he clapped on the arms. Baladeva pressing him crushed his bones to powder. As he cried out "no wrestler am I ! No wrestler am I" (saying) " I don't know your wrestlership or non-wrestlership." Baladeva caught him by the hands, pressed him to the ground till he died, and then threw him beyond the enclosure. When dying, Mutthika uttered a prayer : " May I become Yaksha to devour him" and he became a Yaksha in the forest named Kalamattiya. The king rose up with "seize the ten servitor-brethren." At that moment Vasudeva threw a discus which cut off the heads of the two brothers. Alarmed and agitated the crowd (with) "be our protectors" fell at their feet and worshipped them.

Killing their mother's brothers, they, the ten brethren, seized the kingdom of Asitanjana town, brought their parents there and (then) went out to seize the sovereignty of the whole Jambudvipa. By

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and by reaching the town of *Ayojha*, the residence of the king Kalasena (var. Kalayana), they encircled it, destroyed the trees lying thick (around it), breached the wall, captured the king, took its sovereignty into their own hands ; and then arrived at Dvaravati. Now this town had on one side the sea and on one the hill. It was said to be demon-possessed. The Yaksha stationed to guard it, on seeing the enemies, brayed (on) taking the form of an ass ; at that moment [83] by Yaksha power the whole town rose up and settled itself on an island in the midst of the sea ; on the enemy's departure, it would come back and stay in its own place. At that time the Yaksha coming to know of the approach of the ten brethren brayed like an ass, and the town rising up settled on the island ; not seeing the town they turned away ; back it came to its own place again. They again returned, the ass did as before.

Unable to take the kingdom of Dvaravati town they went to Kanha-dipayana, and saluting (him) respectfully asked "Reverend Sir, we have failed to capture the kingdom of Dvaravati, tell us some way." He said "In the ditch-bed, in such a place an ass grazes ; on seeing enemies, he brays ; at that moment the town rising up goes away ; you should hold his feet, that is the way to gain (your end)." Saluting the ascetic respectfully, the ten brethren fell at the feet of the ass and prayed him. "Master ! Except you, we have no other helper. At the time of our taking the town, do not bray." The ass said "I cannot but bray. But coming first, four of you bring huge iron ploughs, and at the four town-gates fix four big iron posts in the ground ; at the time of the aprise of the town, take the ploughs and tie their iron-chains to the iron posts, (then) the town will not be able to rise." They said "very well." While the ass did not bray, they brought the ploughs, and fixing the posts in the ground at the four town-gates, waited. At that moment the ass brayed ; the town began to rise ; those placed at the four gates holding the ploughs tied the chains fastened to the ploughs to the posts ; and the town could not rise. The ten brethren entering the town killed the king and took the kingdom.

Thus they, in the whole Jambu-dvipa [84] in sixtythree thousand towns, killed all the kings with the discus. Living at Dvaravati, they divided the kingdom into ten shares. But to sister Anjanadevi they had given none. On their saying "Let us make eleven shares," Amkura said ! "Give her my share ; I shall live on trade ; only you should remit me taxes, each in your own land." They replied "very well," and gave his share to sister ; with her the nine kings lived at Dvaravati, while Amkura traded. Thus they multiplied with res-

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pective sons and daughters. After a (long) time (their) parents died. At that time it is said man's life was twenty thousand years.

[Next is described an episode. Vasudeva lost a son and became distracted with grief. To bring him to his senses, Ghata-Pandit feigned madness. This was reported to Vasudeva by an officer named Rohineyya in a verse. Between Vasudeva and Ghata-Pandita then followed a discourse in 12 more verses, exclusive of two other verses. In these 15 verses, Vasudeva is called Kanha (vv. 1, 8, and 10) and Kesava (vv. 1. 2 and 6), and the form Dvaraka used for Dvaravati in v. 3].

[P. 87]. Thus freed from grief by Ghata-kumara, Vasudeva ruled the kingdom ; a long time elapsing, the princes, the sons of the ten brethren, thought : " It is said Kanha-dipayana has divine insight, let us test him." Ornamenting a lad (like a girl) and dressing him as if in the family way by tying a pillow on the belly, they took him near him (the ascetic) and asked : "Reverend Sir ! this girl will give birth to what ?" The ascetic perceived the time had come for the destruction of the royal family of the ten brethren, and looking inward about "what life-chain (*ayusamkhar*) will be his" he came to know "to-day will be my death." He said "Princes, what is this (person) to you ?" They insisted "Tell, sir." He said :—"On the seventh day from now, this (person) will give birth to a knot of catechu (*Khadira*) that will destroy the line of Vasudeva, even though you take the catechu knot, burn it, and cast its ashes into the river." "False matted-haired, a man can never give birth (to anything)" (so) saying by the way named rope and cord took away his life (strangled him). The kings sent for the princes and asked "why did you put the ascetic [88] to death ?" ; hearing everything frightened, they set a watch on him (the lad.) On the seventh day from his belly was voided a catechu knot, which they burnt, and cast the ashes into the river. The ashes floating down the river stuck at one side of (its) mouth, whence sprung *eraka* grasses.

Now one day the kings (wishing) "let us sport in the sea" went to the mouth, had a great pavilion raised, and in this decorated pavilion ate and drank.: while sporting by catching of hand and feet they divided into two (factions) and raised a great row. Now one of them unable to get a club took up from the *eraka* jungle an *eraka* leaf ; the leaf no sooner held became a catechu club, with which the crowd was thrashed by him. Then the other (leaves) no sooner taken up became clubs, (with which) one another they beat till they were killed. While they (were) being slain, Vasudeva, Baladeva, sister

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Anjanadevi and the (family) priest, these four mounted a chariot and fled ; the rest were all killed.

While fleeing on the chariot these four came to the Kalamattika woods. The wrestler Mutthika by prayer had become a Yaksha and was staying there. Perceiving the approach of Baladeva, and making a village there, in wrestler's garb (crying) "Who is for a fight" he went about jumping, roaring, clapping on the arms. Seeing him Baladeva said "Brother, I shall fight with this (fellow.)" In spite of Vasudeva's repeated prohibition he got down from the chariot and going to him clapped on the arms. Then he (the Yaksha) seized him with hands outstretched, and ate (him) up like a radish bulb.

Perceiving his death, Vasudeva with sister and priest went on all night long and at sunrise reached a frontier village. He sent sister and priest to the village with "Bring foods cooked," and (himself) lay down in the shade between the trees. Now a hunter named Jara seeing the trees shaking thought "Here will be a pig" threw a dart that pierced the feet. On (Vasudeva's) saying "who has pierced me," and perceiving the piercing of a man, frightened he began to run. Recovering presence of mind the king got up and called "uncle, don't be afraid, come here." When he came, (the king) asked "what is your name." "Master, my name is Jara." "I am to die pierced by Jara, (so) the ancients foretold ; surely I die today" (thus) knowing, "uncle, don't be afraid, come, bind up my wound." Having got the wound-mouth bound up by him, (the king) sent him away ; great pains came on him ; he could not take the foods brought by others. Then inviting them with "To-day I will die ; you are delicate and won't be able to live by doing other works ; (so) learn this *Vidya* (magical skill) " he taught (them) a *Vidya* and sent them away ; then and there he died. Thus excepting Anjanadevi all perished.

Ghata-jataka. The end of *Dasa-nipata* narration.

(b) OTHER JATAKAS

(i) In Jataka No. 512, Kumbha-Jataka, while speaking of the evils of wine-drinking, Sakka is made to say :—

"After drinking which (i.e. wine) the sons of Andhakavenhu, while sporting on the sea-coast cudgelled one another with clubs." (Vol. V. 18, verse ३५).

(ii) In Jataka No. 530, Samkichcha-Jataka, the ascetic Samkichcha while speaking of the hells says :—

"For attacking the saint Kanha-dipayana the Andhaka-venhus

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killed one another with clubs and reached Yama's dwelling." (Vol. v. p. 267, verse ३९).

(iii) In Jataka No. 545, Maha-Ummagga-Jataka, the parrot in pointing out to the starling of unequal connexions quotes :—

"The King Sibbi's (Samba's) mother was named Jambavti ; she was the wife and the favourite queen of Vasudeva Kanha." (Vol VI. 421 verse)

[According to Buddhaghosha's commentary, Jambavati was a *Chandali* by caste.]

(iv) Kamsa is mentioned in two other Jatakas, curiously enough, as *Baranasi-ggaho* the ruler of Baranasi (No. 282 Seya-Jataka, II. 403, verse १४ and No. 521 ; Tesakuna-Jataka, V. 112 verse ३).

(c) OTHER WORKS.

Asvaghosha's Buddha-Charitam.

(i) "The famed feats of the grandson of Sura (Krishna) Sura and his peers were powerless to accomplish." (Cowell's translation, p. 9, Bk. I. 50).

(ii) "What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are like a spear (*sula*), sword or club—for the sake of which the Kurus, the Vrishnis and the Amdhakas, the Maithilas and the Damdakas suffered destruction?" (Cowell's translation, p. 116, Bk. XI. 31).

Monmohan Chakravarti

Note :—Hitherto this section of *The Indian World* has been exclusively reserved for the review and notice of present-day publications but henceforward occasional reviews of different periods and episodes of early Indian literature will also be published in this part of the Review.—*Ed. I. W.*

LIST OF ARTICLES ON INDIA IN OTHER REVIEWS

1. **THE MONTHLY REVIEW** (October) :—India and Imperial Control—By E. John Solano
2. **THE NINETEENTH CENTURY** (October) :—An Indian Retrospect and Some Comments—By Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.
3. **THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW** (October) :—England's Strength in Asia—By Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
4. **THE BRITISH EMPIRE REVIEW** (October) :—British Rule in India and Recent Events—By Lieutenant-General Sir Edwin Collen.
5. **THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW** (October) :—Hyderabad : Past and present—By Lt. Col. Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I.
Early Marriage in India—By Arjun Singh of Kapurthala.
6. **REVIEW OF REVIEWS** (American, October) :—The Future of British India—Sir Henry Cotton.
7. **SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE** (September)—Some Geographical Peculiarities of the Indian Peninsula—By Cameron Morrison.

LIST OF BOOKS ON INDIA

1. BLECHYNDEN, K.—Calcutta, Past and Present (Crown 8vo., Thacker & Co., Price 7/- net).
2. HILL, S. C., B.A., B. Sc.—Bengal in 1756-57 (A Selection of Public and Private Papers dealing with the Affairs of the British in Bengal During the Reign of Siraj-ud-Daula, with Notes and an Historical Introduction ; 3 vols., Demy 8vo., 12s net. each volume : John Murry)
3. JACKSON, EDITH
LEGH, M. H. CORNWALL } —Our Empire : Great
MEATH, EARL OF }
Britain in Asia (Harrison & Sons., 7s. 6d.)
4. MACMILLAN, MICHAEL.—In Wild Maratha Battle (Illustrated, Crown 8vo., Blackie & Sons. 2s. 6d.)
5. SCOTT, A MacCALLUM.—The Truth about Tibet (with an Introductory Note by Sir R. T. Reid, K. C., M. P.)
6. VIVEKANANDA, SWAMI—A Collection of his Speeches and Writings (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras : 2/-)

SELECTIONS

THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

It was only in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century that general theories began to be put forward regarding the origin and source of the Indian village systems. The best exposition of these theories is (as has been already pointed out) to be found in Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West* and the *Early History of Institutions*—books which mark an epoch of investigation and research into the early history of village institutions.

Maine's idea is based upon some parallel phenomena which he observed between the mediæval English manor and the modern Indian village. "If very general language were employed," says he, "the description of the Teutonic or Scandinavian village communities might actually serve as a description of the same institution in India. There is the arable mark, divided into separate lots but cultivated according to minute customary rules binding on all. There is the waste or common land, out of which the arable mark has been cut, enjoyed as pasture by all the community *pro indiviso*. There is the village consisting of habitations each ruled by a despotic pater-familias, and there is constantly a council of Government to determine disputes as to custom." From these points of resemblance which they possessed, Maine concluded that the Indian village was of the same origin as the English manor and the Teutonic mark. In order to give plausibility to this opinion, he maintained that at one time, long prior to the political stage of human life and the birth of the idea of individual property, the custom of common ownership must have been a widespread feature over the whole Aryan world. In the west the rapid advance of civilization and the excessively progressive spirit of the people led to the destruction of the mediæval manors, and hence the village system became a dead institution ; but in the East, the great reverence attached for old and time-honoured institutions and the consequent spirit of excessive conservatism, naturally protected the village organizations from being corrupted or superseded by any other institution of a political or economical nature. Hence it is that the village system, which was

once established wherever the Aryans set their foot, soon died in the west, while it continued to grow in force, strength and vigour in India.

The above theory of Maine may be seen to consist of two fundamental facts, viz., (1) that the Indian village is of Aryan parentage and (2) that it is an important oriental survival of a common ownership prevalent universally in primitive and prehistoric times. As Maine had only the joint-village in his mind when he spoke and wrote upon this subject, it is easy to see that his theory of the primitive and Aryan origin of the village applied only to that particular kind of rural system. It is therefore enough for us to examine if the true origin of the collective type was correctly discovered and represented by Maine.

Both historical evidence and independent thought seem to corroborate the truth of Maine's theory of the "Aryan" origin of the collective village ; because it is a fact known to all students of Indian History that the United Provinces, and the Punjab, where the collective type has flourished in its full force and integrity, have been the centre and birth-place of Aryan civilization. It was there that the beginning, growth and extension of Aryan civilization found ready inspiration and encouragement, and overcame successfully all the trials and difficulties which came in its path of progress and influence. The history of this part of India is a history chiefly of the Aryan progress, institutions and achievements ; and the universal prevalence of the joint-village here is a sufficient proof of its Aryan origin.

Baden Powell however holds the opinion that there is no demonstrable connection between the joint-village and the old Aryan races ;—an opinion that seems to me to be the result of an over-partiality for non-Aryan institutions. He believes that agricultural settlement of India began, not with the Aryan, but with pre-existing races ; and that the Aryans, the Tats and others produced the joint or landlord form of village as a result of their domination or conquest over previous non-Aryan races who must have occupied provinces and who must have been acquainted to a great extent with rural organizations of their own. Before the Aryan immigration into India among the seven confluent of the Indus and their subsequent colonization into the valleys of the Ganges and the lower Indus began, these parts had been inhabited by non-Aryan tribes some of whom were civilized enough to build forts and organize military operations, wealthy enough "to have gold ornaments and rich jewels" and advanced enough to have established in the best parts of the country strong and well-governed local organizations. When the

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Aryans "who were numerous enough to have rulers and to have armies, but not more," came and conquered these races, they established their superiority in the land by making themselves the masters and driving the conquered to the position of labourers in the existing local settlements of the country. "Whatever customs regarding land are of Aryan origin, they are the customs of a conquering race, or at least of a race which took the superior position in everything. The tenures which arose from their state arrangements and their locations of chiefs—whether they now appear as large landlord estates or as co-shared villages—were all essentially overlord, or at least landlord tenures."

Such are the grounds adduced by Baden Powell to show that Maine was wrong in thinking the collective type to be the most ancient and primæval one. E. L. Gomme in his *Village Communities* has also pointed out that the Fijis, the Dyaks and the Basutos and other non-Aryan tribes had reared institutions which were akin to the later Aryan ones. The existence in Northern India of mixed races having both Aryan and non-Aryan characteristics in them and the conspicuous part which the non-Aryans have played in regard to rural economics in India as well as in Europe—are reasons to show that non-Aryan races had certainly established definite agricultural settlements before the Aryans. At the same time what the latter contributed to the development of the settlement was the introduction of the idea of landlordism and collective ownership and a complex system of different strata and grades of social hierarchy. The origin of the collective village is thus not purely Aryan (as Maine held) or purely non-Aryan; but as E. L. Gomme has put it, "the settlement and modes of cultivation are non-Aryan, while the Government and Administration are Aryan,"—a conclusion that has been accepted by Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Hewit and other authorities.

As to the origin of the Ryotwari Village, it is necessary that the chief racial movements and tribal immigrations which took place in India before the Aryan colonization should be carefully studied and understood. There were three distinct groups of non-Aryan races who had found entrance into India before the Aryan Settlement.

(i). The first and earliest of these tribal immigrations was that of the Tibeto-Burman races who, having invaded by the north-eastern frontier, extended themselves over Burma, Assam, Eastern Bengal and the hill districts of the Himalayas as far as Kashmir. While in Assam and Bengal the Tibetan element was very much superseded and thrown into obscurity by the influence and colonization of later

Aryans, it continued to be the basis of the agricultural population all along the outer Himalayan districts. These Tibeto-Burman races had not developed any advanced system of village communities ; but they were aware to a large extent of the idea of separate and individual holdings ; while some of them were not quite ignorant of tribal and communal allotments of arable and waste lands. (In the Kultre districts of the Himalayas, says Sir J. B. Lyall, "Every family or householder had its holding or share of one ; but such holding is not in the shape of an ancestral or customary share of the fields round the hamlet, but rather in the shape of an arbitrary allotment from the arable land of the whole country All the arable lands seem to have been divided into lots, each lot being of presumably equal value and calculated to be sufficient to provide subsistence for one household"). In some places the agricultural population was divided into the military and menial classes. In Assam, the Baras, the Meco and the Kesari tribes (who were acquainted with the arts of settled and civilized government by local chiefs) originally had the custom of individual holdings, which was however destined to be modified a little by the organization of the country later on.

(ii). More important and instructive than the Tibeto-Burman races are what are known as the Kolarian tribes who must also have immigrated into India by the same quarters, and who found refuge in the plateau lands of Chutia Nagpur and Western Bengal. Many tribes of this group remain still barbarous and retain the very customs which they observed thousands of years ago. Unlike the Tibeto-Burmans, the Kols had no centralised governments but were loosely bound in clans under chiefs, the clans being sub-divided into village communities of a special form. Each village had its priest, its sacred grove or tree (which served the purpose of the temple) and a headman, either temporary or permanent, who was "known as *Munda* among the Ho and Munda tribes, *Manihi* among the Santal and *Sirdar* among the Bhuinuj." The allotment of lands to the various families of the village and the settlement of disputes as to their locations, were his chief functions. Under the patriarchal society of the Santals the village is a very advanced institution. The title to land is by occupation and clearing. There is no appearance of joint ownership, but individual holding of lands is the prevailing custom. As to the administration of the village, it is in the hands of

1. the Headman, the magistrate and judge.
2. the deputy Headman, who looks after the equitable distribution of lands.

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3. An 'executive' "who sees to the actual execution of orders and the routine business" and who is also "a sort of censor of the morals of youth."

The above features show a very strong resemblance to the Ryotwari village.

(iii). The third and the most important groups of the non-Aryan races are the Dravidian groups which are very numerous and which have formed the basis of a large part of the existing agricultural population. In tracing the distinctive tribal laws and customs of the Dravidians we meet with great difficulties, because they have been very much altered and even obliterated by the adoption of Hindu castes and customs by the Dravidian. However, from confessedly Dravidian peoples a few facts may be gleaned out—clear enough to show that they contributed not a little to the development of a special type of village communities.

The Dravidians are supposed to have preceded the Aryans in the invasion of India and spread themselves over the whole continent, not excepting the Deccan and the southern peninsula. The Dravidian races who remained in Northern India had their individuality destroyed by their fusion with the Aryan and other conquering races and invaders. As a result of this merging of the northern Dravidians into the general 'Hindu' population, they lost their own languages, dialects and customs. But in the Deccan and Southern India the main bulk of the population is confessedly Dravidian ; and, the Aryan influence being very small, they have retained their own customs and characteristics.

Though different parts of the Dravidian country differed from each other in the extent and complexity of their civilized life, yet they were all, even from very remote times, divided into territories of different clans under different chiefs and had developed a uniform system of village organizations. The subdivision of each clan into groups of villages, the individual nature of the land-holdings in the latter, the idea of private and heritable property regarding land, the communal ownership of the waste, the provisions for the self-sufficiency and self-government of the village by the institution of officers and menial craftsman,—and various other marks of the Ryotwari system distinguish the villages of the Khonds, the Dravidians of North Western Bengal and those of south India. Malabar however is an exception, the cause of which will be explained later on.

An accurate examination of the rural organizations of the three non-Aryan races which I have tried to describe shows that the

separate and individual holding of land and the institution of headmen—the two distinguishing marks of the Ryotwari system—form an almost universal feature among them. From these facts we have to conclude that the Ryotwari system is of purely non-Aryan origin.—V. RANGACHARI in the *Wednesday Review*.

SOME INDIAN STATESMEN OF THE XIXth CENTURY*

DIWAN POORNEAH OF MYSORE

I shall first take Poorneah, the able and distinguished Diwan of Mysore, who presided over its destinies for eleven years, when, with the fall of Siringapatam in 1799 and the dynasty of Hyder coming to an end, the British Government decided to place Krishna Raja Wadier as Maharaja on the throne of Mysore. Krishna Raja was only five years old when Siringapatam was conquered. The State of Mysore was far from being satisfactory, as the treasury was exhausted, and the country in a state of restlessness. Poorneah, a Brahmin inhabitant of Coimbatore, who was chosen to fill the post of Diwan of the infant Raja, was well-fitted for the difficult task of establishing and maintaining order in the State. He had already served under Hyder and Tippu, and had on several occasions rendered excellent service to his employers. He did not know how to read or write, but had nevertheless a wonderful aptitude for business and extraordinary foresight. It was mainly owing to his tact and fore-sight that at Hyder's death Tippu was able to ascend the throne without any difficulty. Hyder's death occurred whilst he was returning from a campaign in South Arcot. When this happened, Tippu was on the Western Coast, about 500 miles distant, and the astute Poorneah, knowing that if the army should hear of their leader's death a mutiny would be inevitable, kept the occurrence a complete secret. The way in which he managed it is very interesting. He got the body secretly embalmed, and having wrapped it in spices, placed it in a closed palanquin and caused it to be carried as usual on the daily march. To avoid the slightest risk of suspicion, Poorneah went every day to the doors of the palanquin, and apparently engaged in conversation with the occupant. He gave out that Hyder was doing well, though suffering from weakness,

* These short biographical sketches of the Indian Statesmen of the XIXth Century are taken from a paper read some time ago by Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee, J.P., M.R.A.S., before the Centenary Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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and that there was a strict prohibition against any one visiting him. While he kept up appearances in this way with the army, he despatched a mounted messenger to Tippu, who was then more than 500 miles distant, to apprise him of the news of his father's death and to request his immediate presence. So secretly and cleverly was the whole affair arranged that till the time of Tippu's arrival, twenty-one days after Hyder's death, not a shadow of suspicion was felt by any one, who was not in the secret. There were three crores of Rupees in the treasury and a large well-disciplined army. It is an incontrovertible evidence of Poorneah's great integrity and noble fidelity that he preserved the treasury, in its entirety, and kept the army united for the use of his master's rightful heir. Had it not been for Poorneah's tact, it is evident that the history of Mysore might have to be written differently.

Poorneah's administration is a typical instance of purely Native administration for he had not received the benefit of English or any systematic education whatever, nor had he before him those models in the Government of India by the British which had been so useful to Native Statesmen, who came at later period on the arena of State-administration. He belonged more to the class of eighteenth century politicians. On account of the growing power of the English in India, different conditions arose in different times, but his genius was quite capable of adapting itself to the new environments; and within a short time after his appointment as Diwan, he inspired confidence in his absolute trustworthiness and statesmanship in the minds of the British Officers.

With a view to compose and encourage the well-affected and to obviate unnecessary alarm in those of an opposite character, he commenced his administration by proclaiming an unqualified remission of all balances of revenue and the restoration of the ancient Hindu rate of assessment, while for the maintenance of public authority he adopted the plan of collecting a small but select body of cavalry, infantry, and peons, from the ruins of Tippu's army. For the preservation of internal tranquility, he adopted another method. He engaged for the service of the State at least one individual from each military family, and in all practical cases assigned waste lands in lieu of one-half of their pay, according to the usage of ancient times. The number of men thus engaged was rather large at the commencement, but Poorneah, within less than four years, was able to reduce it by more than seven thousand.

Poorneah had an adequate conception of the advantages, both to the ryots and the Government, of a system of hereditary landed

property and fixed rents over the more precarious tenures, which prevailed in Mysore, except in Bednur and Balam. To afford better security to the ryot and encourage cultivation, he confirmed the property of the soil to the possessors of plantations. He was always ready to accede to the proposals of individuals for fixing the rents and securing the property of every description of land.

In the administration of Justice, Poorneah took care to have due regard to the ancient institutions of the country and to the doctrines of the Hindu Law. The Khazis in the principal towns were engaged in adjusting ecclesiastical matters among the Mahomedan inhabitants, while in matters of the same nature among Hindus, ancient precedents were followed, and in the absence of any such applicable to particular cases, the doctrine of the *Shastras* was followed.

Poorneah, though said to have been parsimonious, did not neglect the construction of public works for the improvement of the country. During his eleven years of office, he spent no less than seventy-seven lakhs of Rupees on public works, not a small amount, when we consider the backward condition of administration in those times.

So careful was Poorneah in his supervision and so thrifty in his management that when he left office not only was the whole internal machinery of administration in thorough order but there was in the treasury an accumulation of surplus of two crores and a half.

Such was the administration of this first of the new class of statesmen which was rising up under British influence. The despatches of General Wellesley, who was but little given to enthusiasm in feeling or warmth of expression, made declarations of esteem and friendship for the statesman such as few European Ministers elicited from his iron pen. Writing to Colonel Close, the Resident of Mysore, at the time, the great General said "The Diwan under your protection seems to pursue the wisest and most benevolent course for the promotion of industry and opulence, the protection of property, and the maintenance of internal tranquility and order in Mysore." The same Officer, when leaving for England in 1805, wrote to Poorneah in terms which showed his high esteem for the latter's merits. "Every principle of gratitude," he wrote, "for many acts of personal kindness to myself and a strong sense of the public benefits which have been derived from your administration render me anxious for its continuance and for its increasing prosperity ; and in every situation in which I may be placed, you may depend upon it that I shall not fail to bear testimony to my

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sense of your merits, upon every occasion that may offer, and that I shall suffer no opportunity to pass by which I may think favourable for rendering you a service." The following reference made to the abilities of this minister by the Marquis of Wellesley, the then Governor-General of India, in his minute on the affairs of Mysore is another valuable testimony to his greatness. "I discharge a satisfactory part of my duty in availing myself of this occasion to record the high sense which I entertain of the merits and services of the Diwan Poorneah. To extraordinary abilities, eminent public zeal, integrity, judgment, and energy of that distinguished Minister must be ascribed, in a considerable degree, the success of measures, which I originally adopted for the settlement of Mysore and the happy and prosperous condition of that flourishing Country. The merits and services of the Diwan have been peculiarly conspicuous in the promptitude and wisdom manifested by him in the application of the resources of Mysore to the exigencies of the public service during the late War with the confederated Marhatta Chieftains : and I deem it to be an act of justice to acknowledge that the expectations which I formed in selecting Poorneah for the important office of Minister of Mysore have been greatly exceeded by the benefits which have resulted from his excellent Administration."

TANTYA JOG OF INDORE

Among Statesmen of eminence in Central India may be mentioned Tantya Jog of Indore and Bapu Raghunath of Dhar. The former was in high authority during the time of Maharaja Jaswantrao Holker, but his real claim to be considered a Diplomat and Statesman rests more upon the part he took in connection with the treaty of Mandessor concluded between Holkar and the British in 1817 and upon his administration as Mulharrao's Prime Minister during the subsequent eight years till 1826. It will be remembered that after the death of Jaswantrao Holker, Mulharrao succeeded him and that during his reign a battle was fought at Mahidpur in 1817 between the Mahrattas and the English. The engagement having resulted in the defeat of the former, negotiations for a treaty were opened and Tantya Jog was deputed with plenary powers on behalf of the Holkar family to discuss the terms of the treaty and to ratify it. The British Government were represented by Sir John Malcolm. For three days the treaty was discussed, and Tantya Jog fought hard to secure favourable terms for Helkar's Government ; he did not succeed, it is true, in persuading Sir John Malcolm to concede some of the points on which he insisted but his achievement was

none the less creditable. The treaty gave a new lease of life to the Holkar's State and though Holkar's territory was reduced in area by the treaty, it was made more compact and easier to govern. The British Government having extended its protection to the State of Holkar in regard to its foreign relations, it became necessary, on account of the minority of Mulharrao Holkar, to undertake responsibility with regard to its internal administration as well, and at the request of Krishnabai, the mother of the minor prince who placed herself and her son under the care of the British Government, which accepted the task. Tantya Jog was appointed minister and regent and by his administration he showed that the diplomat who could so successfully conclude the important treaty just mentioned had also in him the qualifications of an able statesman. He commenced his work by disbanding the rebellious troops and he took loans from the British Government and used the monies thus borrowed in paying off the disbanded and retained troops and towards other purposes required for the resuscitation of the State. He reduced the enormous Jaghirs which were originally allotted as fiefs to the military leaders to maintain a sufficient number of followers for military purposes but for which there now remained no necessity on account of the protection which the British supremacy afforded. This caused discontent and the State was thereby shorn of aristocratic families but its effect on the revenue proved beneficial. The revenue rose considerably and the State could thus find means to carry out other necessary reforms. Besides altering the system of collecting the revenues, the two other important steps which Tantya Jog took were,—the proportionate distribution throughout the State of the standing Army and the appointment of properly qualified Officers in State Departments. The former helped the pacification of the State, while the latter purified the administration. The second measure which Tantya Jog adopted for developing the resources of the State was to encourage commerce and induce people to extend their trade. He established firms for lending money and for dealing in corn at the principal places in the State. He established private Agricultural Banks and thus facilitated Agriculture. The result of Tantya Jog's administration is to be seen in the increase of revenue from four to thirty-five lakhs within the short space of eight years, in the settlement of foreign relations after the treaty of Mandessor and in the prominence into which Indore had risen and was rising. Writing about the state of Holkar's Territories in 1821, Sir John Malcolm said : "The administration of Holkar's Territories is good, and all the intelligence and energy of a Native Government are well

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directed to the increase of its resources by the most legitimate means,—the industry of its subjects. A firm and able Diwan, Tantya Jog, has within the period of four years restored the country to prosperity and raised the Court from a condition of penury and distress to one of comfort and respectability." Tantya Jog died in 1826, having fulfilled his noble mission of raising the affairs of the Holkar's family from a condition of the utmost depression to one of substantial prosperity.

ZALIM SINGH OF KOTAH

The name of Zalim Singh is inseparably associated with that of Kotah, one of the Rajputana States, and the biography of that "consummate politician" is justly said to be the history of that state, nay, of the whole of Rajputana for more than half a century. He first came to notice by the courage and sagacity he displayed on the occasion of the battle of Buttowra in 1761. It was a critical moment for Kotah and but for Zalim Kotah might have been sunk for ever into humiliating subordination to its great enemy, Jaipur.

Kotah, which Zalim's his valour saved from degradation, was destined to be controlled by him for upwards of fifty years, for from 1771 when the infant sovereign, Umidsingh, was placed "in his lap" till almost the day of his death in 1824 he was the principal figure in the state and during that period he raised it to independence and greatness.

His administration was strict and even severe but to judge aright it must not be forgotten that the times were full of tumultuous agitation which demanded severity in Government as the author of the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan* correctly puts it : "It is most difficult to pass a proper judgment on the various acts of this great statesman. Even his excess of severity was an advantage and that in one case was a measure of barbarous severity appears in another to have been one indispensable to the welfare of the State." Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the policy as viewed from a high standard of morality, it stands to his credit that when naught but revolution and rapine stalked through the land, when State after State was crumbling into dust or sinking into the abyss of ruin, he carried Kotah safely through all dangers and added yearly to its riches until he placed it in security under the protection of Britain.

For a long time after he became the protector, Zalim was engaged in struggling against political intrigues and frustrating the many plots that were made to overthrow his power ; and as he always

cherished a strong ambition to extend his authority over Mewar, he found little time to give much thought to the internal administration of Kotah. Indeed, in prosecuting his ambition with regard to Mewar, he sacrificed the interests of Kotah and used to obtain the necessary funds for his objects by means of oppression and extortion, till the impoverished ryot was no longer able to pay the extra calls made upon the fruits of his industry and with his cattle and the implements of labour distrained, he was reduced to despair. The universal impoverishment at last compelled the regent to turn his attention to the domestic affairs of the state. He made himself acquainted with the system of revenue then followed and after making several experiments in the direction of Revenue reforms, he appears early to have commenced that system by which in the course of forty-five years he raised the revenue from four lakhs to forty lakhs.

Zalim was one of those who clearly foresaw the rise of the British Power in India. Whenever an envoy of that Government would endeavour to impress upon him that the English had no desire to conquer India and that their wars were not for aggrandizement but in the interest of justice and good rule, the astute statesman would smilingly observe "Maharajah, I cannot doubt that you believe what you say; but remember, what old Zalim tells you, the day is not distant when only one emblem of power (*ek-i-sicca*) will be recognized throughout India." This was in 1817-18, and the subsequent history of India has well illustrated the shrewdness of his foresight. He believed that the supremacy of that new foreign power was certain to be established and therefore eagerly sought an alliance with it. His most confidential advisers were averse to his leaguering with the English, but on a dispassionate consideration of the benefits which he thought the new alliance was sure to confer on his state, he dissented from their views and preferred to be guided by his own judgment. Having once pledged his faith to the English, he never changed it and maintained uniformly cordial relations with them till the end of his life.

SIR T. MADHAVRAO OF BARODA

Raja Sir T. Madhavrao belonged to the group of the young men who are known as Powell's Boys, after the name of their tutor, Mr. E. B. Powell, and from among whom have come so many of the greatest men of Southern India. His school career was very brilliant and, on account of his great proficiency in Mathematics and Physics he was appointed, at the age of nineteen, to act for Mr. Powell as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. This was not

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the only distinction he won in early life. His abilities were considered of such a high order that a former Resident of Travancore is reported to have said about him that he had never met with a native of India who had obtained so thorough a mastery over the English Language and so full an appreciation of English views in regard to politics and political economy. Madhavrao began his career early in 1849, in the Accountant-General's Office at Madras, but after having served there for some time, he left British Service to take charge of the education of the Princes of Travancore. He held this office about four years, working with great zeal and ardour to impart a liberal education to his Royal Pupils. The Princes under Madhavrao's charge were so well trained that when they succeeded to the responsible duties of ruling sovereigns, they distinguished themselves as the most eminent rulers of Travancore. Madhavrao's success as tutor to the Princes paved the way for his long administrative career. In 1853, Madhavrao was appointed to a responsible post in the Revenue Department under the Diwan and was thence promoted to the Office of Diwan-Peishkur, a post next in importance only to that of the Diwan. It is as Diwan-Peishkur that we find Madhavrao giving proof of the extraordinary talents which distinguished him. The late John Bruce Norton, the Political Officer of the time, in reviewing Madhavrao's work as Diwan-Peishkur, gives splendid testimony to his statesmanship. "Within the short space of a year," he says, "Madhavrao has called forth order out of disorder, has distributed justice between man and man ; without fear or favour has expelled Dacoits ; has raised the revenue ; his minutes and State papers show the liberality, the soundness and statesmanship of his views and principles. Here is a man raised up, as it were, amid the anarchy and confusion of his country to save it from destruction. He is indeed a splendid example of what education may do for the Native." Not long after this in 1858, Madhavrao rose to be the Diwan. The State of Travancore was then at its worst. It attracted Lord Dalhousie's attention and received one of those warnings "not to be neglected." Annexation was threatened, nay, almost determined upon, but Madhavrao saved the situation. He requested the Madras Government to allow seven year's time to improve the administration of the State. His request was granted and annexation was indefinitely put off. During the first few years of his new office Madhavrao busied himself with introducing those fiscal reforms for which he has been praised by Mr. Fawcett as "the Turgot of India." He changed entirely the fiscal policy that was pursued by his predecessors and did away with most of the oppressive

monopolies and vexatious taxes which, without benefitting in any appreciable degree the State Exchequer, operated harshly on the people. At a time when the State Treasury was empty, abolition of even the poorest source of revenue might be considered a bold stroke of policy which a less able statesman would have shrunk from adopting. But Madhavrao was equal to the task. He removed the pepper monopoly and in the case of tobacco substituted an import duty in place of the practice of the Sirkar purchasing tobacco from contractors and selling it by retail to its subjects. This having been accomplished, Madhavrao turned his attention to the system of general taxation. He abolished upwards of a hundred minor taxes, reduced the land revenue wherever it was high, and cut down the export and import duties. In uprooting the oppressive monopolies and reforming the fiscal system, Madhavrao had adopted the policy of Free Trade and this policy which brought in its train, in an indirect way, the enhancement of the price of salt directly improved the finances of the State. At the time when Madhavrao assumed the administration, he had to start with an empty treasury, a heavy debt, and a voracious system of fiscal policy which ate into the very vitals of the ryot. A few years after his appointment, he was able to liquidate the State debts, abolished oppressive monopolies, remove numerous minor taxes, and to considerably reduce the land-tax and custom duties. And he would achieve all this without adding a farthing to public taxation except in the case of the Salt Duty, which had to be enhanced, not because Madhavrao desired it but because the British Government insisted on it. These results brought congratulations from the Secretary of State for India who described Madhavrao's administration as "enlightened and able."

Madhavrao did not, in his zeal for improving the revenue system of the State, forget that the welfare of a State depends in no small a degree upon the efficiency of the Public Service. He placed the administration of justice on a sound basis and introduced the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, the Law of Limitation and Registration, as obtaining in British India with such modifications as the conditions of the State demanded. He raised the position of the Public Officers and increased their remuneration and employed qualified and experienced persons in the State service.

The improved position of the tenants of State Lands was another blessing which Madhavrao secured. The tenants of the State Lands were, previous to Madhavrao's administration, subjected to an ever-increasing rack-rent, and their position was so insecure that any one of them might find himself dispossessed of his lands at any time if

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there was another ready to offer better rent to the Government. Madhavrao fixed the assessment/ on these State Lands and assured the Ryots that they would be allowed to enjoy their lands undisturbed as long as they paid the appointed assessment which was to continue unaltered till circumstances required general revision.

To Madhavrao belongs the credit of establishing efficient Public Works and Education Departments in the State. He undertook many great and enduring public works during his ministry and appreciably enhanced thereby the material progress of the country.

It took Madhavrao fourteen years of hard and energetic work to achieve these glorious results and having placed the State administration on a systematic and workable basis, he thought that the time had come when he might rest on his oars. But his hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. The Maharaja had not been getting on well with him for some time. He was possessed of a strong individuality and seldom brooked contradiction. He did not like the high but unbending spirit of Madhavrao and used always to complain that Powell's Boys were unyielding. Madhavrao therefore resigned his office in 1872, and thus closed the first chapter in his life.

The brief review of his administration of Travancore which has been sketched above will disclose the high ideal he had conceived of a statesman's duties and testify to the success he had attained in realizing it. In his own words it was his cherished aim to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours' journey, the advantages of a Doctor, a School Master, a Judge, a Magistrate, a Registering Office and a Postmaster. He well nigh accomplished this lofty aim and left Travancore which he found "a den of misrule," "a model Native State." His services to the State of Travancore were considered by the late Sir Rama Varma to be similar to those of Pericles to Athens or of Cromwell to England. As a reward for his labours, Madhavrao received from the British Government the rare and distinguished title of K. C. S. I.

After his retirement in 1878, Madhavrao had not long to remain inactive. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore was in need of a Diwan and Sir T. Madhavrao was offered the post. He accepted it and for two years administered Holkar's State. But in his new office he had not sufficient scope for his administrative capacities because the all-powerful will of the Maharajah came in the way of accomplishing any substantial reforms. I shall, therefore, pass on to notice only his administration at Baroda with which his name is most closely associated. Maharaja Gaikwar, it will be remembered, was deposed for maladministration and the young prince being a

minor, a Regent was needed to act for him during the minority. Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy of India at the time, resolved, in order to conciliate public sentiment, to depart from the usual practice of setting up a British Officer to rule the State during the minority of the young Prince and to try the noble experiment of entrusting the work to a native statesman who should enjoy the confidence of the Government and the good-will of the people.

The choice of Government fell upon Sir Madhavrao and in 1875 he was appointed the Diwan Regent of Baroda. The same sad story had to be told of the State of Baroda as in the case of other native States. It then was a phantasmagoria of rapine and treachery, a confusing dream of intrigue and bloodshed which required an iron hand and an iron will to restore order out of the confusion. Sir Madhavrao supplied the iron will, as Sir Philip G. Melville, the Resident at the time, supplied the iron hand.

The farming system of revenue which was in those times so prevalent all over India had been followed in Baroda also. The task of reforming it gave Sir Madhavrao immense trouble, and his difficulties were greater here than elsewhere, because the Sirdars to whom revenues were farmed out had paid a consideration for the result of revenue-collection and the Government could not, therefore, resume, with any show of justice, the right which it had itself granted. To obviate this difficulty, Madhavrao had to compel the Sirdars by a Special Act of State to sell their rights. The Sirdars did not relish this procedure and they opposed, but Sir Madhavrao by entreaty, intimation and in various other ways succeeded in reconciling them and establishing order. The position of the Sirdars was another obstacle in the way of sound administration. They had absolute rights over land on condition of furnishing troops or money to the State whenever called upon to do so and they were thus masters of the land. Madhavrao broke their power by using their indebtedness to the State as a cause for attaching and selling their rights and deporting to Benares those who opposed this measure. He next disbanded the disorderly Regiment maintained by the State which committed open ravages wherever it went. In this way Madhavrao brought order and tranquility to the unhappy state and then proceeded to establish Public Works and other Departments which conduce to the welfare of a State. His administrative work in Baroda has been summarized by Sir William H. Russel in his work entitled *The Prince of Wales's Tour, a Diary in India* in fitting terms. "He has reconstructed the Revenue System, the Police, the Courts of Justice, and has reformed the whole administrative system of the

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State. He has acted on the principle of paying all Government officers very high salaries so as to secure able men and to diminish the temptations to peculation and corruption which operate so strongly in countries beyond the bounds of Hindustan ; and it is stated on very good authority that justice is administered and order and law established and maintained with firmness and certainty. He has so organized the offices that there is no ground of complaint of inadequate or irregular payment while the revenue shows a large and rapid increase. He has not begun by sweeping away all old institutions and customs, tearing up traditions by the roots, and leaving a bleeding and irritating surface to receive the application of new ideas but he has worked on the old basis and repaired the ancient structure." The Maharaja attained his majority in 1878 and differences of opinion having arisen between Madhavrao and his royal master, the former gave in the resignation of his office in 1882. With this, Madhavrao's career as an administrator came to an end. His activities as a public citizen did not lessen but with them we are not concerned here.

I shall refer only to a charge which is sometimes made against this great statesman. It is contended by some critics that Sir Madhavrao considered the good-will of the British Government as of greater importance than the interests of his State. The late Mr. Justice Ranade has defended Sir Madhavrao against this accusation in an elaborate article published in one of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha Journals*. "Whenever and wherever," the learned writer observes, "he thought that the interests of the State were in jeopardy, he protested against outside pressure in the strongest terms possible. Beyond this he was powerless to do anything. He had to yield, as any other politician would have had to do, when the Supreme Government's ruling was peremptory and inexorable. In most cases, however, his protests resulted in a compromise. A great achievement, when we remember how difficult it is to get the Government of India to budge an inch from their superior position in their dealings with Native States ! So that what ignorant and irresponsible critics have blamed Sir Madhavrao for is precisely that which brings him out as a high-class politician."

Sir Madhavrao succumbed in 1891 to a stroke of paralysis, brought on by a great nervous strain. His integrity, high conception of statesmanship, firmness and agreeable manners, had secured him golden opinions both from Natives as well as from Europeans. "His conduct in private and public life," says Sir Richard Temple, "is exemplary, while his ability is of a high order. By reason of his

excellent attainments in English, his comprehensive experience, and his large acquaintance with public affairs, he is on the whole, the best-informed native of India."

THE SPELL OF VICEROYALTY

There is, probably, in the whole annals of the British Empire no post of honour which appeals to the imagination of the average citizen of Great Britain more directly than the Viceroyalty of India. Every association with this Imperial consulship seems to vibrate with an inherited magnificence. In other lands protected by the same flag, the tendency is more and more towards intelligent simplicity, but in India what Bagehot calls the showy side of government is essential, is of the very essence of dominance. It is as though there were something in the very atmosphere of India which disdains the humdrum complacency of modern democracy. India demands from her rulers the blaze of light and colour which is in herself. And beneath it all there is always a menace. India is the open book that none can read, the child's puzzle that no one can solve. She has haunted the weakest with her dominance and she has broken the strongest with her charm. Day and night, Sir William Lee-Warner tells us, in his "Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie," the retired Governor-General brooded over India. "Forget India," insisted the doctors ; but the man whom India had broken could never forget her.

THE SUPREME MOMENT

A little more than ten years before, Lord Dalhousie had arrived at Fort Gloucester. "Here," writes his biographer, "at the supreme moment, to which during a long voyage the Earl of Dalhousie had looked forward with a beating heart and which an empire, lavish in pomp and pageantry, was awaiting with Oriental patience, occurred a series of *contretemps* which might have furnished political prophets with heart-searching questions and misgivings." One of these little *contretemps* was the nonrecognition of the new Governor-General by his predecessor, Lord Hardinge. "Where is he ?" exclaimed a perplexed voice as Lord Dalhousie ascended the steps of Government House. The new Governor-General, recognising the voice, replied, as though answering to a "call over," "Here I am." There followed the inevitable round of entertainments. Lord Dalhousie writes : "On the same night there was a dinner ; on the next a greater ; and on the third Lord Hardinge gave a ball to Lady Dalhousie. Then

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my entertainments began. For the first three days the outgoing Governor-General feasts the incoming man ; for the next three days, or as long as he stays, the Governor-General in the present tense is host to him who has reached the præter pluperfect. So on the next day I gave the same great dinner to Lord Hardinge that he had given to me ; all the same people, whisker for whisker among the gentlemen, pin for pin among the ladies."

Then came the ceremonies of arrival and farewell. The two Pilots of Empire shook hands ; "he leaving me," says Lord Dalhousie, "the Substance, envying much the departing Shadow." Years passed, and the time came when Lord Dalhousie was to make arrangements for his succssor in the person of Lord Canning. The idea of the Shadow returned with strange persistence. "You must excuse me," he wrote to the new ruler of India, "if I confess to feeling a small shock on writing these words, and if, in addressing you within the 'Indian limit,' I feel as a Scot must do when he first sees his own wraith."

Perhaps nothing strikes the imagination more forcibly, in reading the long annals of these consulships, than the changes of scene and climate and tradition that crowd themselves into one public career. The new Viceroy of India goes out to the great principality after having won *éclat* as the Governor-General of such an utterly alien part of the Empire as the Dominion of Canada. With Lord Dalhousie himself there were the same associations of the New World which came to him like a breath from the sea even in the thrall and fascination of that mysterious India which is in very truth the tired heart of the Old World. The songs of the Burmese boatmen brought back the memories of the St. Lawrence just as the giant forests in Asia had recalled those of the Dominion. He writes of the Burmese boatmen : "Wild fellows, they were thoroughly in earnest in all they did, and pleased me by a picturesque and characteristic scene more peculiar and national of its kind than anything I had seen since my father, as Governor-General in the West, used to travel the waters of the St. Lawrence, paddled in a birch canoe to the songs of the Canadian voyageurs, taking me on half-holidays as a little boy by his side, little dreaming of the day when, as Governor-General of the East, I should paddle the waters of the Irrawaddy to the wild chorus of Burman boatmen, rude and sturdy types of a nation which even at that time looked down upon the British strangers as 'barbarians.'"

LADY DUFFERIN'S PICTURE

The Governor-General passes on but the spell of the Viceroyalty is ever the same, the wonderful spell in which are blended the

call of India and the whisper of power, the rich fascination of the unknown land and the personal ambition. Lady Dufferin has described vividly the magnetic moment of her first approach to Government House :

"And now comes the difficult moment to describe but I must appeal to your imagination to fill in the details of the scene. Fancy a drive of five miles through a town : in the first part some very fine buildings and large houses, occasionally an open space or a short bit of avenue with fine trees, and then a long bazar, or native town, with curious old houses and strange balconies ; and then fill the whole—the streets, the windows, the rows and rows of balconies, the trees, the tops of carriages—with a teeming crowd almost every individual of which is a study in himself : natives of every shape and colour, dresses of the most brilliant hues, little children clothed in the whole rainbow, and with a large nose-ring added to that ; children clothed in nothing at all, and parents with the nearest approach to nothing at all that I ever saw before ; one window filled with ladies draped in brilliant stuffs and a little further on four or five naked bodies decorating another window ; and when you can't imagine any more, and the five miles of cheering and the ever-recurring bands sending forth ' God Save the Queen,' the handkerchiefs waving and all the incidents of a crowd—in fact, put life into the masses of colour your imagination has brought before you and say if it was not an exciting scene !"

Then followed, of course, a round of brilliant dinners and balls.

BENEATH THE SURFACE

In reading Lady Dufferin's book one is again reminded of that amplitude of life, viewed even externally, which the British Empire alone makes possible. Again in this torrid India one catches a reminiscence of another land and another rule. "I visited the Loretto Convent Orphanage this afternoon," writes Lady Dufferin, "and, on entering it, felt myself transported back to Canada. There were the nuns, and there was the Archbishop, and there were the good little girls 'vouess au Bleu,' and the indifferent little girls all in white, and there was the little song of welcome, and the flattering address, and the bit of convent embroidery as a souvenir, and myself on a platform, and the purple priestly robes beside me—all exactly as it used to be. What wonder, then, that I fell back naturally into the ancient groove and obtained a holiday for the whole array of little pupils—who appear to me to have gone on curtseying at every mention of my name for the last twelve years—or that I felt senti-

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mental over this sudden return to Canada and all its pleasant memories ?" Through the Life of Lord Dalhousie, underneath the gorgeous prestige of British rule in India, one is conscious of the lurking danger that was to blaze out in the mutiny. Lady Dufferin mentions grim witnesses in this land of long memories. It is true that now "the Residency is a very pretty place—gay flowers, picturesque ruins"; but to the right of the gateway stands the house that was defended by the Baillie Guard.

"It is marked all over with shot and bullets seem to have taken headers into inner courts, where people might have expected to be safe, and left their marks there." In the Residency House itself the Viceregal party were shown the room in which Sir Henry Lawrence met his death ; a shell burst in it, took off the leg of a punkha-boy sitting there, wounded Sir Henry mortally and rent off a portion of General Wilson's clothes. The smoke made it pitch dark, and he said to Sir Henry, 'Are you hurt ?' 'I am killed,' he replied. On this building the English flag floated every day ; it might be shot down or torn but as sure as the morning dawned it was in its place again." These are the memories out of which the glamour of the Viceroyalty is woven ; they are the memories which flag into the most listless the inner meaning which underlies the pomp and pageantry of Calcutta.—*T. P's Weekly*.

BENGAL

The Hindus of Bengal have, we fear, given away what might have been a fairly good case. They dislike the partition of their great province ; but instead of pleading that they are a very separate people, with many special claims upon the consideration of their rulers even when their wishes are of doubtful wisdom, they have attempted to coerce those rulers by a commercial boycott and so have compelled them to consider the effect of concession upon the opinion of other provinces. We fear the decision will necessarily be that to allow the use of such an instrument to seem successful would be a fatal blunder and that, therefore, no concession can be made. The true policy would have been, first to prove that those who resist the partition had the sympathy of the mass of the population, and then to show that this mass had a special claim to a favourable hearing from the Central Government. The Bengalees must remember that they have a prejudice against them to overcome. The warrior races of India despise them because, by their own admission, they will not fight ; and the English have caught from the soldiers a sort

of scorn which reveals itself as clearly in Macaulay's eloquent description of the suffering in Bengal one hundred and fifty years ago as in Rudyard Kipling's satirical accounts of the efforts of their leaders to be Englishmen. The other side of the picture is never fairly painted. Bengal does not fight, but it is through the never-ceasing industry of its vast population, so much greater than that of the United Kingdom, that British India is enabled to pay its way. That the Bengalees add nothing to the military strength of the Empire is true ; but then also they deduct nothing from its strength on the frontier. No population so vast was ever so peaceable or required so little or any expenditure for garrison. A police principally employed in detective work is all that is needed, or forcible resistance to the State is, and will probably always remain, outside the Bengalee scheme of life. They pay their taxes to the hour, chiefly through their landlords ; they obey the legal orders of any Magistrate even when unsupported by physical force ; and when the great Mutiny of 1857 broke out their quiescent but immovable adhesion to the British side made the reconquest of India a comparatively easy possibility. If Calcutta had been filled with a warlike population and had risen, as it almost infallibly would, either the Indian Empire would have been lost or it would have been re-established at an expense of life and treasure equal to that of the war with Napoleon. Throughout that dangerous movement Calcutta was as tranquilly British as London on a Sunday. Moreover, this vast population, though the remainder of India stigmatises its men as women, has a character of its own, with which Englishmen on the other side of their heads should have some sympathy. Though Bengalees will not fight, they are, and are reasonably proud of being, the most intellectual race in India. It is useless for any student in any College there to compete with a Bengalee rival. In every native State they are in demand for the management of finance. Next to the Parsees, perhaps, they are the most successful traders, and they would not themselves admit the partial qualification. Using with rare skill, especially in satire, a language, a direct derivative of the Sanscrit, which is not unjustly characterised as "the Italian of the East," it is not fantastic to say that if India ever produces a literature that makes an impression on the West, it will proceed from the subtle students of Bengal, who, moreover, though they display no capacity for art and little for machine-making, will probably rival the Japanese in their pursuit of scientific investigation and as money-makers are surpassed only by the Jews. The wealth of their great capital, which is perhaps the second wealthiest city within the British Dominion,

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has been built up by themselves and by the steady orderliness which has made of Calcutta a proverb throughout the East. A man may be a millionaire there and as safe as in Lombard Street. The people in fact, with their cunning, their thinking ability, and their capacity for everything except art, constantly suggest to the observant the character which the Romans attributed to the Greeks. There is nothing they cannot learn and few things they cannot understand and comment on with a gentle humorousness which if you agree with it is delightful and if you disagree stings like a whip.

Naturally, though they cannot fight or at all events will not attempt to—probably from some peculiarity of race, possibly also because “where the land is water the men are women,” for Nature is too good to them—they are in their own way a proud people, quite convinced in their own minds of their superiority to the more violent races around them and not indisposed even in moment of elation to include the British among those violent races. They feel, therefore, their own homogeneity and resent bitterly what they consider a violent chopping off from their own ranks and therefore, a diminution of their importance within the Empire. If they had pleaded that their contribution to the revenue and to trade was a fair substitute for their lack of military energy, that their habit of non-resistance was a practical equivalent for lenity and that they would always be first in the race towards the adoption of Western ideas, they would, we think, have been listened to both in Simla and in London with the attention of the absence of which they are now complaining. People here are saying that as no one is wishing to oppress them, it is hard to understand their ground of complaint ; but Englishmen would quite comprehend the Yorkshireman who, if Parliament carved a new county out of his great province, would declare that he was shamefully treated, that his historical tradition had been broken, that many of his hopes for the future had been swept away and that he would resist in every law-abiding fashion he could think of. We can admire a Pathan as much as Rudyard Kipling does ; but an Empire like ours has many races beneath its sceptre ; it would be very difficult to govern them if they were all of the Pathan temper ; and we cannot but think it a little hard to disconsider a mighty population because the King has no subjects so peaceable and so disposed to worship the law. (*The Spectator*)

THE SITUATION IN EAST BENGAL

We deprecate in the strongest manner all attempts to exaggerate the seriousness of the situation, but it is above all things desirable that the facts should be clearly stated and frankly faced. A few points may be usefully recalled. The popular agitation consequent upon the Partition of Bengal culminated on the 16th of October in a remarkable demonstration shared in by every district in the province. By common consent of the Anglo-Indian Press, the most noteworthy feature of that demonstration was the orderliness with which it was conducted and the absence of rowdiness alike in Calcutta and the mofussil. In spite, however, of evidence strongly supporting the view that the agitation had reached high-water mark and would in the natural course of events rapidly die down, the Governments of the two provinces entered upon a line of action having for its object the suppression of the *Swadeshi* movement especially in connexion with the conduct of the students. In taking this line the Government went against the practically unanimous feeling of all the educational authorities in the province, the principals and professors of Government colleges no less than those of the unaided institutions. These gentlemen—whose opinion on such a matter should, we submit, have been accepted by the Government as final—urged that extra-disciplinary measures would be calculated to defeat the end in view : and their opinion was upheld by several leading Indian gentlemen whose judgment on matters connected with the Indian community usually carries great weight with the Government. Unfortunately, in the present instance, these wiser counsels were not followed. So far as Bengal proper is concerned, we gladly recognise that Sir Andrew Fraser has in practice adopted the view pressed upon him by those who spoke with special authority on the subject, although he has judged it better not to withdraw the circular to which such strong objection has been taken. His Honor has taken care that it should be used merely as a safeguard in case of disturbances, and his wise restraint has met with its reward. But the opposite course has been followed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. It is possible, though we do not think it has been proved, that during his first tour in the new province, Mr. Fuller came upon more signs of unrest than had existed on this side. It is possible, again, that he was annoyed—as, we think, he had good reason to be—with the manner in which the addresses of welcome to himself were managed, or rather mismanaged, in several places. But making the fullest allowance for the circumstances, we fear it cannot be denied that in

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adopting the policy that has created the unrest in Eastern Bengal, Mr. Fuller has been guilty of a grave misreading of the situation.

English law in every part of the Empire recognises the right of public meeting and is based upon the assumption that the greatest measure of safety for the community and the Government is secured by allowing the free expression of public opinion and feeling—so long of course as the law is respected. Mr. Fuller has set this fundamental principle at naught. He has chosen to treat an orderly public meeting as an act of sedition. He has condemned the singing of songs and the utterance of a popular cry as a breach of the criminal law. He has caused deep resentment among a peaceful population by reinforcing the Police with a detachment of Gurkhas ; by imposing upon reputable Indian gentlemen the indignity—for such in this country it is considered—of enrolment as special constables ; and he has permitted his subordinate, the Magistrate of Barisal, to go to the extraordinary length of ordering established residents to remove themselves from the town within a specified period. Let it be clearly understood that we are not desirous of saying a single word in palliation of any breaches of the law. Where the law has been broken the offenders should be punished, and the punishment should not be softened in the smallest degree because at the moment public feeling happens to be unusually sensitive. But we would call particular attention to the fact that, although within the last few weeks public excitement has reached an almost unprecedented pitch, there has been no corresponding outbreak of lawlessness. On the contrary, the Government officials and the Police have been forced to recognise that in no other country in the world could so many public meetings consisting of crowds so great have been conducted with so striking an absence of disorder. It is not contended, even by the most impatient officials, that the Police authorities could not, by the exercise of their ordinary powers, have dealt with every manifestation of popular unrest which threatened to overstep the line. Nevertheless, the Government of Eastern Bengal has chosen to act as though it were confronted with all the danger of a seditious movement. The result is before us to-day—in a sullen and panic-stricken population, a student community on the verge of rebellion, and a censorship imposed on telegraph offices in the Mofussil.

The foregoing statement of the situation is in no sense exaggerated. Indeed, we are quite prepared to hear it condemned by those who have means of knowing the facts as much under the mark. The situation, moreover, has one aspect to which we refer with great reluctance, but to which it is essential that the Government should

give heed. Our native contemporaries have within the last few days discussed the condition of the two divisions of Bengal in the light of the approaching royal visit to Calcutta. This is a matter that touches the loyalty and the honour of the city and the province, and the Government may take it for granted that the representatives of every section of the Indian, no less than of the European community, are deeply concerned that the Prince and Princess of Wales should be assured of a welcome in the capital as unclouded as that which has been given to them in the western city. But if the position remains unaltered it is only too evident that this cannot be. The carrying through by the late Viceroy of an ill-advised administrative measure has been followed by a series of wholly unnecessary acts of repression, and the unhappy result has been to inaugurate a reign of irresponsible power which is alien to every sentiment of British rule. It is the earnest wish of all loyal subjects of the Crown, English and Indian, that the distractions and disagreements of the past few months should cease, and that no trace of them should be visible next month when the city will be called upon to entertain the Heir to the Throne. In these circumstances, we are confident that the Viceroy to whom so general and sincere welcome was extended by all classes yesterday will not hesitate as to the steps with which his Vicerealty should be inaugurated, or as to the account which he will demand from the misguided and inexperienced ruler who has brought about the existing state of affairs. (*The Statesman*)

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

On the 18th instant, Lord Curzon of Kedleston embarked on his voyage home after his second term of the Indian viceroyalty and Lord Minto assumed that exalted office as his successor.



The Prince and Princess of Wales arrived in India on the 9th of November and are now making a tour round some of the most picturesque Native States in Rajputana. We accord a most hearty and loyal welcome to their Royal Highnesses and hope they will try their best to acquaint themselves with the real condition, and the sentiments and aspirations of the people, of this country,



An important work—the first of its kind for this country—being got out by the Imperial Meteorological Department is a meteorological and climatological Atlas of India, which Sir John Elliot, K. C. I. E., the late Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India, now at home on retirement has prepared and edited. Messrs. Bartholomew, the well-known Edinburgh publishers, have been entrusted with the publication of the Atlas.



The *Morning Leader*, referring to the important gatherings addressed by Mr. Gokhale in London and the provinces, particularly to the New Reform Club dinner, the National Liberal Club address, and the addresses to the Chamber of Commerce, the Liberal Twelve Hundred, and the Federated Trades Council at Manchester, also to coming addresses to the Bradford Reform Club and the Birmingham Liberal Four Hundred, speaks of the good result of the mission and its creation of an increased interest in Indian affairs. The power of Mr. Gokhale's advocacy is recognised, as well as the moderation and reasonableness of his demands. Mr. Gokhale has had satisfactory interviews with public men on both sides. The *Leader* bids the friends of India to be of good hope.



The Gurkhas of Darjiling are anxious to improve their backward condition and range themselves into line with their more advanced brethren of the other communities. This is very gratifying. In the

year 1904, the Gurkha community of Darjiling became keenly sensible of their benighted condition, and as a first step towards the realisation of their natural aspirations, they started the Gurkha Union Library, with Rai Hari Das Pradhan Saheb as its President. In their own words, they meet together in the Library "to converse on the topics of literature, science, industry, morality, and other subjects, and learn with great enthusiasm what is passing on the face of the globe through the medium of newspapers." But the financial condition of the Library is too poor to admit of any large purchase of books, and the Gurkhas appeal to the sympathy of their friends and admirers to lend them a helping hand. And money that their friends are good enough to subscribe is to be sent to the President of the Gurkha Union Library, Darjiling. The Gurkhas have shown a warlike valour and capacity in the battlefield, second to those of no other soldiers in the service of the Crown, and now that they are anxious to imbibe mental culture and knowledge, every possible encouragement ought to be shown to them.

* *

The authorities in East Bengal have gone so far in their anxiety to suppress the present enthusiasm over the *Swadeshi* movement that Babu Umraprasanno Guha, officiating as District Magistrate of Rajshahi, has thought fit to issue the following circular letter to all educational institutions in his district :—

"I regret to find that the admonitions, said to have been given to the students of your school by you and their guardians, have been received with scant respect. I shall be obliged, if you kindly inform me, what action, if any, you have taken since the re-opening of the school to prevent the students from taking part in political movements, which have the effect of creating disaffection among the people and distracting their attention from study to subjects with which they are not at present concerned, and whether you have any objection to give me the names and addresses of those among them who are inclined to disobey your orders. I should inform you that if it be impossible to bring the students to their senses through warning and advice given through their teachers and guardians, Government may be forced to adopt more effective measures, and then it will be too late to repent over their past folly."

* *

The *Englishman* thus writes of the new fever in Calcutta :— During the past few months the attention of medical men in Calcutta has been attracted to a peculiar kind of fever which has been very prevalent in the city. From all that can be ascertained, it seems to

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have spread with special rapidity during October. Dr. Leonard Rogers, F.R.C.P., contributes an interesting article to the current *Indian Medical Gazette* giving some of the results of his investigation into the earlier manifestations of the disease. His general conclusion is that it is a new kind of influenza, which has certain features in common with malaria and typhoid. It is most clearly differentiated from both these fevers by the comparative shortness of its duration, running its course in from five to twelve days. During this period the temperature curves are very sudden, but so regular that Dr. Rogers tells us that he was able to predict the various alternations almost exactly. The maximum temperature is usually 103, but often touches 104 degrees. The disease has also certain aspects common to dengue fever, but it is evidently not dengue. The diagnosis of influenza at once suggests the great danger of infection which is present; and those whose friends have been attacked would perhaps do well to fortify themselves by small doses of quinine.



"Paterfamilias" writes in the *Indian Ladies' Magazine*:—The custom of a bride's father giving dowries to bridegrooms is spreading among communities in which it did not previously exist; and, in which it did exist already, the amount is rising, especially when the bridegroom attends a school and has a smattering of English, though it is quite possible he may end his days as a clerk on a paltry salary. Further, if the girl is ill-favoured and is born under a star which is unlucky to father-in-law, mother-in-law, or brother-in-law, a much larger amount has to be paid to dispose of the ware! One may welcome a small reform that has been effected in this part of the country in turning the dowry to the best account. The educated girls—and they are in greater demand now-a-days, which is a silent testimony to the value of education, though the expense of educating them is not taken into account in reducing the amount of the dowry—are generally content with a very few ornaments, though of the prettiest kind, and the greater portion of the dowry is laid out at interest. The small reform has been silently effected by the education of girls who can understand the value of money. The difficulty of providing larger and larger dowries, when it is becoming more and more difficult to earn one's bread, has also silently effected another reform in reducing marriage expenses.



A lurid light on the uncivilised condition of mofassil Bengal is presented by the last annual report on police administration in the

Lower Provinces. Quite apart from the crimes of passion, which take place in every part of the world, a number of instances are reported of a kind of lawlessness which could hardly be believed to exist in a country under British rule. At Patna, for instance, last year there was a horrible case of suttee, the widow of a Brahmin "baid" being burned alive with the corpse of her husband after the "homa" and other funeral ceremonies had been duly performed. It is satisfactory to note that seven persons "were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment" for having assisted in the inhuman ceremony. There were two cases of pilgrims being poisoned by Thugs. In Murshidabad a man poisoned all his neighbour's children in consequence of a land dispute. There were, of course, the usual riots in connection with zemindari claims. In Mymensingh a party of 500 men, armed with guns, spears and lathis, marched down to a plot of land which had been fenced round, and pulled down the fence with the help of elephants. The other party was only able to muster 200 men but put up a good fight. Only 11 persons were punished, but the offending zamindars have been obliged to pay the cost of quartering additional police on the villages concerned. In Khulna a man's wife was forcibly taken away from his house by a mob headed by the father and other relations of the girl. The husband, while resisting, was speared to death. In Tippera a man wanted to marry a girl, but the father was against the match, and promised her in marriage to another person. Enraged at this, the rejected suitor collected a number of men, stormed the house, assaulted the inmates and carried the girl off. Her brother, who came to the rescue, was killed. These are only a few of the stories told in the Report and they seem to suggest that Bengali mobs have so little respect for the law that they are easily incited to the commission of any offence. With regard to murders and the like, due to personal enmity between individuals, the following figures, showing the increase of crime, are instructive:—

			1903.	1904.
Murders	...	...	335	367
Attempts at murder	...	...	60	71
Culpable homicide	...	...	223	244
Grievous hurt	...	...	1,072	1,272

These figures are worth pondering over. There were no natural causes during the year, such as famine, pre-disposing towards crime, and all that can be said is that there is a general and growing want of discipline amongst the people of Bengal, whether in towns or in the country.—(*The Englishman*)

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The following extraordinary and highly injudicious circulars have been issued from the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam Chief Secretary's Department.

I

Camp Dacca, the 8th Nov., 1905

From

P. C. Lyon, Esqr., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to Government

To

The Commissioner of the Dacca Division, Dacca.

Sir,

I am desired by the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that incidents have recently occurred which indicate that the shouting of the cry "Bande Mataram" in the streets or other public places is likely to provoke breaches of the peace. It should accordingly be stopped. I am to request that you will issue the necessary instructions to the police to this effect.

2. I am desired also to say that in the present state of public feelings, political or quasi-political meetings should not be permitted in public places though they may, of course, be held in private compounds. Processions or such meetings may pass through the streets provided that they are orderly, but no music or shouting should be allowed. This order should also be held to apply to Sankirtan parties.

3. Mr. Fuller has also been informed that in some places English ladies cannot drive along station-roads without risk of insult or annoyance. This serious reproach to the administration must cease absolutely. The police on the beat along the roads should, if needful, be strengthened, and should have orders to interfere in all cases in which rudeness is afforded to Europeans or Mussalmans, taking down names and addresses and if the latter are refused, conducting the offender to the thana.

II

No. 31-24 T. C.

From—P. C. Lyon, Esqr., I. C. S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

To—The Director of Public Instruction, Eastern Bengal and Assam and the Inspector of Schools, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions.

Dated Lieutenant-Governor's Camp, the 8th November.

Sir,

I am directed to communicate to you the wishes of Government in regard to the participation of students in political movements.

NOTES & NEWS

2. The Lieutenant-Governor is convinced that students who are permitted to take an active part in political agitation or demonstrations suffer very greatly in education and discipline, and when these movements are directed against measures of State it is likely that youngmen and boys in their inexperience will, unable to distinguish between the legitimate and the illegitimate, contract a bias against the Government which will not be compatible with good citizenship. His Honour is aware that these are the views held by large number of parents who unwillingly see their boys drawn into a net of excitement which is a serious drag on the progress of their studies. Gentlemen who own, manage or conduct educational institutions should be advised to discourage the students of their Colleges or Schools from attending political meetings or from taking part in processions or the like, and should the Principals or Head Masters of Government Institutions find themselves unable to control their students or find that their subordinates fail to render them due assistance in exercising proper control, they should report the circumstances. Should the management of an aided institution refuse to accept these principles, its grant will be withdrawn. And if Mr. Fuller learns that any educational institution is a focus of the political agitation or does any thing to facilitate the subjection of students to the disturbing excitement of political agitation or does anything to facilitate the subjection of students to the disturbing excitement of controversy, he will consider it expedient in the interests of the State to debar its students absolutely from Government service. It is obvious that students brought up under influences which are hostile to the State cannot be expected to serve the State loyally. Cases to which these remarks apply should be reported to Government. These observations apply of course to the active participation of students in promoting the boycott of foreign goods, a movement which has taken developments which go far beyond the laudable idea of encouraging home manufactures and are a serious damage to public tranquility.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) P. C. LYON,

Chief Secretary.

This is how Mr. Fuller has inaugurated the pet province of Lord Curzon. One day these blessed documents are bound to go down to the making of the history of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and who can doubt the verdict posterity will pass upon them ?

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COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

A Company, known as the Bengal Steam Navigation Company, Limited, has been registered with a capital of ten lacs of rupees, divided in one hundred thousand shares of Rs. 10 per share, to be exclusively held by natives of India and Burma. The Company has already chartered some steamers which are meant to ply for passengers between Chittagong and Rangoon for the present.



E. I. R. Progress.—The E. I. R. management have issued a letter card, containing illustrations of their railway carriages in 1855-6 and 1905-6, and a brief tabular statement of statistics for the last working year. From the latter it appears that there are now 353 railway stations and 72,406 employees, European and Native on the line. The average amount received for carrying a passenger is given as nearly 15 pies for 1st class, $6\frac{1}{2}$ for 2nd, $3\frac{1}{4}$ for intermediate, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ for 3rd class, the total number of passengers carried during 1904-5 being 25,167,195. The average earnings per train mile came to nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rupees for coaching and $5\frac{3}{4}$ rupees for goods; the working expenses for the same distance being reckoned at slightly over one and a half rupees. The total length of the track is 2722 miles.



A Limited Liability Company has been formed at Masulipatam with a capital of Rs. 20,000, divided into 2,000 shares of Rs. 10 each, for promoting the Swadeshi movement. For the present it is proposed to start an emporium for the sale of country-goods and to make advances to the local weavers for cotton-weaving. Masulipatam was a great weaving centre in the days of the East India Company, and the chintz and the Palamkari cloth then prepared was exported largely everywhere. The East India Company maintained at that station several weaving establishments in the earlier years and carried on a thriving trade for a long time. The enterprise is even now capable of great developments, and it is to be hoped that the gentlemen connected with the movement will seize the opportunity of reviving the old industry of the place.



Sindh is attracting attention from persons interested in mill industries in India and in England as experiments in long-stapled cotton are being tried under the superintendence of a special officer deputed by the Bombay Government for the purpose. Last year, experiments

were performed at Dhogo Naro and in several private agricultural holdings. They were successful but as the cultivation and produce was not abundant, the better quality of cotton did not fetch any good price. This year's experiments are being tried at the Nurpur Khas Government Farm under the superintendence of the same officer and also on private agricultural lands in different districts of this province. The present farm is in the Thar and Parkar District. It is proposed to start such farms in other districts also. They will do an immense good provided the experiments which prove successful at Government farms are tried by private owners also. These experiments should be simple but all the same improved and up-to-date methods should be adopted.

* * *

Mr. Robert Mitchell sends the following informations to the *Englishman* :—

“The Rhine, one of the Messrs. James Nourse and Co's fine fleet, has just arrived at Garden Reach with “returned” emigrants from British Guiana. Their savings amount to one hundred thousand five hundred and sixty rupees in Bills, and jewellery valued at fifteen thousand six hundred rupees additional.

“Two other vessels are due in January next, the emigrants' remittances by Bills amounting to one hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and seventy rupees, and jewellery valued at twenty-one thousand eight hundred rupees additional.

“In all, two hundred and forty-eight thousand seven hundred rupees by Bills, and jewellery valued at thirty-seven thousand five hundred rupees, have been advised as remitted this season. In view of the flooding of the markets with bounty-fed beet sugar of late years, the repatriated Indian peasant can scarcely complain of the hard times which have so seriously affected the fortunes of his employers in the West Indies !

“The sum total of savings of repatriated Indian emigrants from British Guiana, including the above, now amount to twelve million and eighty-three thousand rupees.

“It should be borne in mind that with the exception of families re-emigrating, who in many instances were ineligible from age or infirmity as contract servants, and who pay their passages to the Colony, the majority did not even pay for their outfits which were provided at the expense of the planters in British Guiana.”

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WAZED ALI SHAH

We welcome the publication of the *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, the opening number of which has been lying on our table for some time. It is a quarterly journal 'chiefly devoted to subjects of oriental interest' and is an organ of Mahomedan opinion. It is edited by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali. To the number under notice, X. Y. Z. contributes a biographical sketch of Wazed Ali Shah, some reminiscences of whose life appeared in the July number of the *Indian World*.

It is said that Wajed Ali Shah, ex-king of Oudh, was one of those unfortunate persons the redeeming traits of whose character have been lost sight of by the public and in whose case only the dark side of the picture has always been presented to the world. The administrative capabilities of Wajed Ali Shah were not such as go to the making of a successful and popular ruler, and this was the cause which hurried the loss of his kingdom. It is quite true that mismanagement and mal-administration were the order of the day in Oudh at the time when Wajed Ali Shah was removed from his throne. But those who know his disposition, temperament and his natural tendencies can say with some certainty that he has never been privy to any act of tyranny or oppression ; and if there are any instances of such deviations from humanity in the history of his reign, they are either due to his neglect or the injustice and villainy of his officers.

In the year 1854 Wajed Ali Shah was deposed and brought down to Calcutta as a state-prisoner. His consort Nawab Khas Mahal Saheba and some near relations and high officers of state were also allowed to follow him to the capital of British India. He was at first lodged in Fort William but after some time Government gave him permission to reside at Matiaburj, otherwise known as Garden Reach and Mochikhola, and there the ex-king went to live with a handful of followers who had by that time reached Calcutta. At that time Matiaburj was not provided with as many buildings as were required to conveniently accommodate the king and his suite, and some of his followers were obliged to live in huts in the vicinity. It was now that Government sanctioned a monthly pension of one lakh of rupees for the royal prisoner. It is said that when this offer was made

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Nawab Khas Mahal Saheba advised the king to refuse it as it was derogatory to his position and dignity. Wajed Ali Shah was undecided and knew not what to do. At this his wife sent words to him to the effect that he need not hesitate to refuse the pension offered by Government as she was prepared to give him a lakh of rupees every month for his expenses as long as she lived. Those who knew how rich she was—how much in cash and jewels she had succeeded in bringing with her to Calcutta—were certain that she was financially capable of keeping her word. But the high-mindedness of the king prevented him from following her advice. He was too proud to be a pensioner of his wife and so he accepted thankfully the offer of the British Government.

· Soon after settling at Matiaburj, the king began to utilise the enormous wealth he too had brought with him in jewels in raising palatial buildings and making gardens and menageries for the accommodation and amusement of himself and his dependents. Such lavish plans were prepared as were in keeping with the dignity and magnanimity of Oudh's last king. In the course of time he became the owner of that portion of Matiaburj which is picturesquely situated on the bank of the Hooghly and several plots of land, buildings and gardens between Matiaburj and Sanai Bazar—having bought them at fabulous prices from time to time. On the lands thus acquired he laid out lovely gardens, planned elaborate menageries and raised at the expense of lakhs of rupees and without the help of any engineer such magnificent buildings and palaces as in point of architectural beauty and grandeur defied comparison with any other buildings, public or private.

The two boundaries of the stretch of buildings, gardens, parks, and menageries on the bank of the river were named by him *sad-de-Sultani* and *had-de-Sultani*. These two boundaries enclosed a veritable garden of Eden, the result solely of the king's exquisite taste and æsthetic bent of mind. By 1865-66 Matiaburj had become a Lucknow in miniature and in those days no visitors came to the City of Palaces who eagerly desired not to see the sights of this garden of *Shaddad*. The king who was all goodness itself and always amenable to reason issued orders to keep the grounds, palaces, and menageries open to the public for two or three days every year during the height of the Calcutta season. After this order was passed, for two or three days every cold season the general public and globe-trotters from all parts of the world flocked to Matiaburj to see the sights of the palaces, gardens and menageries of the ex-king of Oudh. Wajed Ali Shah was not only a born architect and gardener, but a first rate

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zoologist too. He never employed the services of any zoologist for the care and keep of the animals of his menageries. Nowhere in the whole of India were the dumb denizens of the forest kept so comfortably and with such care and cleanliness.

It is said that the king had in those days become exceedingly extravagant and some of his courtiers enriched themselves by cheating him right and left in money matters. Wajed Ali Shah knew these things too well and it was not due to any carelessness or simplicity on his part that his courtiers and men about him managed to get exorbitant amounts out of him for everything, or that a much larger number of men were employed in his household than was necessary, but because it was his earnest desire to give protection and patronage to as many of his fellow country-men as possible and especially to the inhabitants of that small colony of Lucknow men in Matiaburj, which he himself had founded. The horrors of the Mutiny drove a large number of the king's relations, friends and dependents from Lucknow to Calcutta and these men, as also such as had come from time to time attracted by the patronage extended by the king to all classes of his former subjects, settled at Matiaburj under the fostering care of Wajed Ali Shah.

Till his death, Matiaburj was the recognised centre of renowned Indian poets, musicians, singers, calligraphists, painters, physicians, and *Shia* theologians. The King was a handsome oriental *reis*, simple, kind, and upright in his dealings. During the whole of his life he had never been cruel or unkind to his relations or dependents. He was a true *Shia* and very particular in his religious observances too. He never used any intoxicants. He did not even smoke the *hookah*. He is often considered to be a highly immoral person. But this verdict is unfair as he was, according to his lights, a very religious man.

Wajed Ali Shah was a good Urdu poet. But though as a poet he cannot be said to be very successful or famous, he had considerable taste for this vocation and his knowledge of the Urdu poetical art was very great indeed. His style is simple and spontaneous. The king was the author of several useful and interesting works on Indian music. He was so highly proficient in singing, playing and dancing that he was considered to be one of the masters of these arts by professionals who had made their mark in the Indian musical world. In those days, Indians who did not know English or Sanskrit could not even conceive what a drama was. Wajed Ali Shah early conceived this idea and in order to put it into practical shape selected the traditional oriental romance of Rajah Inder which

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fabulous character must have been his ideal of pleasure and luxury. He secured the services of the well-known Urdoo poet, Amanat, who was a contemporary of his, to render the said romance into a simple Urdoo operatic poem. This rendering of Amanat is known as the *Inder Sabha* and is a land-mark in Urdoo literature. It has enjoyed undiminished popularity as an opera.

The ex-king of Oudh lived the life of a recluse in Calcutta from the day he set foot there in 1854 to the day of his death in 1887. Excepting some of his relatives and his own officers he neither ever visited nor was accessible to any European or Indian gentleman, official or non-official. Most people who desired to see him even from a distance found little opportunity of doing so. But since a few years before his death he used to drive to Calcutta for sight-seeing during the month of *Ramsan* in order to beguile away the fasting hours. The king was famous for his extraordinary faculty of selecting and bestowing the most appropriate, expressive and charming titles and names to persons and places and animals. Nawab Khas Mahal Saheba was the most accomplished of his wives, just as she was the highest in rank and the most beautiful amongst them. She was famous for her intelligence, for her musical taste as well as for her poetical compositions. She was not only far superior in every respect to the other wives of the king, but her talents were such that the whole of India could well be proud of so accomplished a lady of high rank as the beloved consort of Wajed Ali Shah. The generosity of the ex-king had outstepped the bounds of moderation, and some of his critics consider it to be one of his greatest weaknesses. But in whatever channel it flew it created innumerable outlets for alleviating human suffering, for bringing means of subsistence to the door of the needy and the deserving, for providing livelihood for artisans who were the victims of western progress and fast-dying industries. The king spent in addition to the government pension a very large amount of money from his own pocket in keeping up his style and dignity.

SWADESHISM IN EXCELSIS

This interesting article, written by a gentleman who introduces himself as a *deshi*, appears in the October issue of the "Indian Review." In this article, the writer brings to light, within a brief compass, some of the principal aspects of the present swadeshi movement. He alludes specially to the enthusiastic movement which at present prevails in Bengal and which is the outcome of the

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mischievous policy of the Government of India in dividing Bengal in spite of the strong remonstrances and appeals of the people. He invites attention to the question whether the movement, which is at its high tide now, will subside and ebb away as soon as the present wave of enthusiasm has spent its force or whether it will gain in strength and volume as it rolls onward in its course and reaches its destined goal. The answer to this question depends on the further question, whether *swadeshim*, as now launched by its most ardent promoters, possesses, in a fair and reasonable degree, all those elements of vitality which shall, in the long run, contribute to achieve the object aimed at.

For this purpose, he examines the existing industrial situation of the country by drawing attention to the difference between exports of the principal agricultural products and raw materials and the indigenous manufactured articles. The former amount to Rs. 84 crores and the latter do not even come to 20 crores a year. He then contrasts the principal articles of manufacture imported into India, which amount to Rs. 62 crores, against India's manufactures of 19 crores. In order to consider the matter in detail he takes up two articles of merchandise which seem to attract the greatest attention, *viz.*, cotton fabrics and sugar. Till the first twenty five years of the nineteenth century, India was the exporter of these two articles but she has now become their importer. This fact reveals at once the sad and woeful tale of our industrial downfall—of the almost total annihilation of the most remunerative industries which once flourished in the midst of the country prior to the advent of the British in India. The causes are known to all. Those causes amply confirm the truth, which economists of all countries have time out of number declared, as to the action and reaction of legislation and politics on the economic condition of a people. It was the despotism of the East India Company that introduced fiscal laws which had the effect of ruining the piece-goods industry of the country. This policy made very short work with the flourishing weaving industries in the country, while the invention of steam-engines and the development of machinery enormously cheapened the cost of production in England and the operation of transit duties in India and of heavy and ruinous import duties in England combined to repress all the exertions of local industry. These duties, though long ago repealed, fulfilled their object. The introduction of Manchester goods was accompanied by the collapse of indigenous industries. The desire to slowly and steadily supplant the heavy imports of foreign manufactures by articles of indigenous make has, however,

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been permeating the people at large for some time. This is the *Swadeshi* spirit. Bengal seized the opportunity to kindle the hitherto tiny spark into a flame. This flame is now raging fast and furious in Bengal and is now spreading its influence all around.

After describing the deplorable condition of Indian manufactures, the writer goes on to examine the procedure followed by the leaders of Bengal in propagating the *swadeshi* cult in the country. He condemns the Bengalee movement. It is undoubtedly the first experiment on an extensive scale, and, therefore, beset with difficulties ; while the pioneers are new to their work. The industrial millenium cannot be brought about by merely insisting on the *swadeshi* shibboleth. Such a procedure is foredoomed to failure. Everywhere the practical works are to be done by practical means under expert advise and guidance. The people have taken the vow not to use foreign goods and middle-class dealers of those goods have been persuaded to cease negotiating with their foreign importers without hardly realising the great difficulties, inconvenience and risks which might be found in consequence.

In the next place the writer dwells upon the financial aspect of the problem. From the statistical accounts given by him he shows that, in order to keep out the average annual imports of 205 crore yds of Manchester piece-goods, 45 lakhs of spindles and 1,63,000 looms are required to be set up at the cost of about Rs 30 crores. Are the promoters, he asks, prepared to bring forth this capital? This is the crux of the entire problem.

He next devells on machinery, which are mostly made and imported from the United Kingdom. Suppose, he says, that the makers of those machines take it into their head to resent the boycott movement and retaliate on India by screwing up prices 50 percent or refuse to sell the machines all. What then? Are the leaders ignorant of the conduct and action of the East India Company's monopolists in repressing Indian industries a century ago and of Manchester getting nervous to-day over the condition of mill-labour and working hours in Bombay? In the great competitive race for industrialism, the triumph would belong to those countries which could produce the appliances for economising human labour and therefore of cheapening the cost of production which, again, is the same thing as selling cheaper than others. India ought to set up at once institutions to produce men capable of doing it. This ought to be one of the primary *swadeshi* idéals, if by *swadeshism* is understood that patriotic spirit which will awaken itself and gird its loins to do all that is necessary and essential to ameliorate the

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material condition of the country and lead it on to the path of permanent prosperity. This is the proper time to take practical steps towards it. It should be remembered that, *pari passu* with skill in mechanical appliances and training schools, India must develop its iron industry.

Above and beyond all these, India should remember the political relation in which it stands to Great Britain and also the fact that politics and economics overlap each other and have their mutual reflex relation.

Lastly he apprehends another difficulty in the shape of planting of mills by foreigners in this country. That would be swadeshim with a vengeance.

These are the principal aspects of the problem. The writer then concludes by wishing the movement every success and by expressing the hope that it will be carried on rational and practical lines, consistent with the political condition of the country, the prevailing industrial position and the possibilities and probabilities of further industrial progress in the near future.

INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AT BENARES

In reviewing the September number of the *Hindustan Review* we noticed in our last issue that, among others, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A., was requested by the Exhibition Committee for an expression of his opinion on the matter of organising an Industrial Conference and that his opinion formed the subject of the leading article of that number. The following are the leading thoughts of that article :

At the very outset, Mr. Iyer pays a tribute of honour to the revered memories of Messrs. Tata and Ranade for their very valuable services to the industrial cause of India and then proceeds to indicate the lines on which the proposed Conference might be profitably conducted. Our object, he says, is to elevate our country from its present industrial subjection and prostration. There are two directions in which we should pursue our endeavours. They are

- (1) to foster and improve existing industries, and
- (2) to organise our capital, improve our skill and undertake new manufacturing industries for which raw materials exist in the country in abundance.

As regards the first point, he says that it would be a foolish and dangerous policy for the State to allow our village industries to

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become extinct, for the Indian labouring classes, once thrown out of employment, would have no chance of being absorbed in the town-industries and of being restored to their normal condition of life and might, therefore, be a standing menace to peaceful and settled government.

As regards the second point, he advises the Conference to formulate definite ideas regarding the trained skill and organised capital essential for large undertakings. Foreign skill might be indispensable for a time but we must dispense with it and depend entirely on that of our own men, trained in our own technical schools or educated in foreign countries. The Conference might also consider by what means our sowcars might be induced to amalgamate their capitals and establish banks as joint-stock companies. The existence of a large number of banks in all parts of the country is essential for the growth of capital. Next, we shall have to learn the use of co-operation and must introduce and develop the system of credit. Steps might be taken to make the *Swadeshi* movement more general. This movement, he says, is only our old friend Protection in a different name. It would be a part of the *Swadeshi* movement to establish industrial museums where the product of every art and industry in the country might be stored and exposed for public view. The producer would thus know what articles command ready sale and the buyer would know where and at what prices he could get the articles he wants. The Indian artisan is extremely poor ; most of his profits go towards meeting the demands of his creditor. On account of his poverty he is unable to keep the articles he makes for any length of time in his hands and the result is that he does not care for articles of genuine artistic merit which cannot command prompt sale. Syndicates of capitalists and merchants should, therefore, be established in different centres for the purpose of advancing small sums to the workmen on the security of the articles to be made and of purchasing these articles at prices which will give the producer some reasonable profit. Exhibitions are only advertisements and as such are useful. The successive industrial exhibitions have served their purpose but articles in order to command a wide sale must always be kept under the very nose of the purchaser. Hence the importance of such companies as "The Indian Stores, Limited" of Calcutta.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

The Malabar Quarterly Review

"Travancore is a paradise of vegetables," says Mr. A. M. Sawyer in the beginning of his article entitled *The Commoner Vegetable Fibres of Travancore* which occupies the place of honour in the current number of the above Review. The article is as interesting as the subject is useful and the writer urges upon his 'readers the importance of studying the details of so important a subject.' 'No science offers greater scope for material advancement and, surely, few are more fascinating.' According to the writer, the most elementary classification of vegetable fibres is into (1) wood-fibres, (2) bark-fibres and (3) leaf-fibres. Of these three, wood is used as blocks for street-paving, paper-stock and marble; bark-fibres are suitable for cordage, ropes and textile purposes; and leaves are ordinarily divisible into net-veined and parallel-veined. *What is Personality?* is the interrogative title of the next paper in course of which Mr. P. Lakshmi Narasu Naidu attempts to refute the arguments of the critic who reviewed his former article on *Personality* in the second quarterly number of this Review. Mr. M. Raja Rajavarma Raja, M.A., B.L., contributes his second article on the *National Games of Malabar*. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row writes on the *Jaina Centres in Southern India*, the first and foremost of which is *Sravana-Belgola*. Mr. T. Ramkrishna contributes a further *Chapter from an Obscure Autobiography*. Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillai deals with the simplest of the raw materials of the forests of Travancore and Cochin, viz., *Gums*. In the course of the next interesting article, Mr. S. Krishna Aiyar mentions an act of charity on the part of a young prince named Karticaya Thirunna of Travancore. Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Aiyar has some lines enunciating *Advaitism in Brief*. Dewan Bahadur E. K. Krishnan contributes a further instalment of *Col. James Welsh's Malabar Reminiscences*. The number closes with *reviews and notices* of some publications. It is a pleasure to note that the number contains no article which does not bear on India.

REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

The Indian Review

The leading article in the October number of this Review deals with the *Re-organisation of Russia*. Mr. Natesan publishes a further instalment of opinions from several gentlemen of distinction on the subject of *India and English Party Politics*. The article on *Swadeshism in Excelsis* will be found summarised elsewhere. Mr. Girindranath Dutt contributes a discourse on *The Brahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal*. Mr. J. B. Pennington, I.C.S., discusses *The Madras Estates Land Bill*. Mr. C. R. Narayan Rau, M.A., makes *A Few Observations on Snakes*. Mr. R. V. Tikekar's able paper on *Cotton* is rich with figures and statistics. Following this, appears the reproduction of a lecture on *Orthodox Political Economy and Modern Conditions* delivered at the Fergusson College, Poona, by Mr. D. G. Padhye. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, late Editor of the *Hindu*, appeals to the public to appoint a day, 'some day of a popular national festival,' on which every one should contribute for the cause of his country. Mr. Debendranath Sen has a poem on *Devotion* and 'Rajduari' discants cursorily on *current events*. The number closes, as usual, with *Topics from Periodicals* followed by a section devoted to economic, literary, educational, medical and other news.

The Hindustan Review

The October and November numbers of the above Review appear together and the joint issue consists of 100 pages. The last April, May and June numbers of the *Hindusthan Review* similarly appeared in one issue and contained about the same number of pages. This way of making for lost ground seems to be a favourite trick with our Allahabad contemporary. The joint number under notice, however, opens with a very good article on *Aryan Rulers and Public Opinion* by Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, C.I.E. 'An Indian Economist' enters into an able discussion on *India's Two Years' Trade Results*. Mr. P. O. Philip has a short account of *the Syrian Christians of Malabar*. In the course of a very brief article entitled *the Congress Nyaya-Mandir*, a "Layman" suggests to the congress leaders the advisability of establishing a 'central arbitration court where parties may be confident that they would have the same law and justice meted out to them as in the Government courts, but at half the cost in money, time and trouble.' *A Peep into the Graduate Market* is the title of a highly interesting story which presents a true picture

THE INDIAN WORLD

of the hard struggles which our university-men find before them. In spite of 'the numerous obstacles in their way,' remarks the writer of the next article, 'women are steadily making headway in the industrial world.' Lala Lajpat Rai of Lahore, whose success as a political missionary of India in distant climes is a matter of general congratulation all over the country, has a very good article on *Our Struggle for Freedom : How to Carry it On* and his views are evidently based on his recent experiences in England and America. It is interesting to find Mr. Lajpat Rai support with his whole heart the *swadeshi* propaganda of Bengal. The next article in the number is a very belated review of Sir William Lee-Warner's *Life of Dalhousie*. Mr. N. Gupta contributes some verses under the heading of *Curzoniana*. Some notes on the *Kayastha World* bring the number to a close.

The Calcutta Review

The *Calcutta Review* has again changed editorial hands and hence-forward will be edited from the serene heights of Darjeeling. We hope, under its new management, the *Review* will be able to regain some amount of its old prestige and reputation as the organ of cultured Anglo-Indian opinion. The last number (October) under its old editor is, however, strong in articles on Indian subjects. Mr. R. P. Karkaria is responsible for two articles of such wide divergence as the *Death of Shivaji* and an appreciation of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. Mr. T. M. Natesa Sastri describes the *Criminal Classes of the Bellary District* and Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitter puts on some interesting *Notes on the Calcutta Zoological Gardens*. There is a lengthy review of the last Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India from the pen of Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose and *Recollections of Retired Chaplains of the Hon. E.I. Co.* by Mr. H. B. Hyde. Mr. Karkaria's article on the *Death of Shivaji* we hope to notice at length in our next number.

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF OCTOBER

1905

Date

2. The Simla public strongly opposes the proposed removal of the Punjab Government to Dalhousie.

3. The proposals of the U. P. Government for the development of their Agricultural Department are sanctioned by the Supreme Government.

H. E. Lord Ampthill opens the Cochin Forest Tramway.

4. Distressing failure of the rains is reported from the Central parts of Rajputana.

Heavy rains in the Nilgiris cause disastrous floods.

5. Mr. Gokhale addresses the first meeting of his campaign in the Brightside Division of Sheffield.

About 600 conductors of the Calcutta Tramways Company go on strike.

6. Heavy rainfall in Madras.

8. The Marwaris refuse to send forward contracts to Manchester for cotton piece-goods.

10. Mr. Carlyle issues an anti-*Swadeshi* circular.

11. Great anxiety is reported from Manchester owing to the fact that no 'lucky-day orders' were sent from Calcutta.

12. The papers relating to the Partition of Bengal are published.

15. A 'Gazette of India, Extraordinary' announces that fifteen councillors shall be nominated for the Legislative Council of the New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

16. The new Province is inaugurated by Mr. Fuller at Shillong.

Foundation of the Federation Hall in Calcutta.

General mourning all over the Province.

17. The Representative Assembly of Mysore closes its sittings.

18. A monster *Swadeshi* meeting is held in Madras under the presidency of Mr. Govindoss Chaturbhuj Dass.

19. T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales start for India.

Heavy rains in the Mu Valley Districts of Upper Burma.

29. The Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces supports the proposed establishment of a Medical College for Oudh.

24. Heavy rain in South Sylhet.

EDITORIAL NOTES

People most unfortunately seem to have gone off their heads in Bengal. The educated men of these provinces have never gone very strong in determination or decision of character and their unsteadiness has become for a long time a by-word of reproach in other parts of the country. But Bengal has beat all its previous records in the year of grace 1905, as, in no other period of its history it has worshipped so many fetishes in so short a time. Boycott, *swadeshi*, cotton-mills and hand-looms have each in quick succession absorbed the attention and drawn the homage of the entire people of Bengal, and before each of these gods has the country bowed its knees for some time or other. The iconoclastic zeal of the people, however, has been as much in evidence during the last four months as their faith in strange gods,—and boycott, *swadeshi*, cotton-mills and national funds have all now gone down in popular estimation in a common sweep. The cry to-day in Bengal is for a new fetish—a *National University* under *national control* for the purpose of imparting education *on national lines*. And in setting up this new god to order, even the wisest sons of Bengal appear to have lost their discretion. Oh, the pity of it !

It is really difficult to see what the people really mean by a National University or a National Council of Education or education on national lines. Is it the *Indian* or the *Bengalee* nation for whose benefit the National University is to be established ? Can an University be conceived in India, or for the matter of that in Bengal, that would not eschew moral and religious training nor would ignore social environment and yet meet with the educational requirements of the Indian Christian, the Indian Mussulman and the Hindu of the thousand and one castes and sects of this land ? Can a *National University* be run in India or in Bengal according to the narrow ideals of either the Aligarh Mahomedan College or the Benares Central Hindu College or the D. A.-V. College at Lahore ? Or is it possible to revive in the twentieth century the ideals of the universities of Nalanda, Benares, Mithila, Nuddea and Vikramপুর of the pre-Christian or the pre-Moslem Era ? These are questions that have to be answered before the word *national* can be applied to a pan-Indian or a pan-Bengalee educational organisation.

As for national control, every thoughtful man must feel that for a long time yet we cannot do away without European assistance and co-operation in the direction of our higher education. We may avoid with advantage government or official control but there is nothing to be afraid of in expert European help in the matter. Even Japan to-day has not been able to do without some amount of European supervision in the matter of its secondary and collegiate education.

And then we come to the last of the points of the nationalist programme—education on national lines. Is memory-training or hair-splitting discussions or didactic speculation of the ancient schoolmen to be revived and encouraged again? Is rationalism to be divorced from the culture of the intellect and the emotions? Are whole lives to be devoted to the study of either a Grammar or a Lexicon or this or that school of Philosophy? Are our youngmen to pass away the best part of their lives in learning the technique of our *kavya* (poetic) literature or to learn anatomy, physiology, midwifery and medicine by getting the whole of *Susruta* or *Charaka* or the *Astanga* by heart? Is all knowledge of the arts and sciences to be conveyed through the medium of Hindustani and Bengalee, Tamil and Telugu? Are all experiments and laboratory work to be avoided and shunned? We hope education on national lines will not carry us to such an excess as the above, but at the same time it must be distinctly understood that instruction in elementary knowledge through the medium of one's vernacular or the exacting of a high standard of proficiency, whatever that may mean, or the enforcement of discipline according to Indian ideals or the study of half-a-dozen medical works in Sanskrit or Arabic or the attention to some such trifles will not alter the character of any training so as to entitle it to be described as education on national lines. There are some people who think that by making our vernaculars the vehicles of all our thought, instruction and culture, and by writing text-books in them it is possible to give to our education a national tone and colour. Some of the modern vernaculars of India may have progressed by leaps and bounds but not its warmest advocates will dare advance the argument that any of them has arrived to the standard of the European languages or is capable of being used as a medium of higher scientific thought. It must not be forgotten that even in Japan, a country which serves as our model in every thing and arouses so much enthusiasm in us, most of the text-books for collegiate education are written either in German or in French and that the Professors use almost all the leading European languages in their lectures before advanced classes. What has not yet become

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possible in the land of the rising, or the risen, sun, in the words of one of its greatest modern diplomatists, must not be thought to have come within the sphere of practical politics in benighted India. And were it possible to instruct our students in all sciences and arts through the media of their own vernaculars, would it be wise to adopt the idea in view of the great necessity of a *lingua franca* in this country and the development of a common and united Indian Nationality? The greatest factor in our national unity must not be sacrificed to narrow provincial ideals. Then, there are others who might bring moral and physical education and a knowledge of the country, its literature, history and antiquity, and the study of such 'arts and sciences as might help us in the development of the material resources of the country' within the category of education on national lines. It is difficult to see the connection between these items and national education, as each and all of them form part of a liberal education in every civilised country of the world, and nowhere would education be complete without them. But if there is any kind of moral and physical training which is peculiar to Bengal or India or any particular or occult knowledge of India which is not known outside its confines or any arts and sciences which might develop only the resources of India and not of other countries or of India more than of other countries, then of course they might form the principal items of a programme of national education. Otherwise, *not*. But then the above conditions have to be proved and it has also to be proved that there are some particular arts and sciences which may prove useful to India and others which may not. The last proposition no man can undertake to prove, in view of the fact that all knowledge in this world, whatever science or art it may be, can always be turned into some good account in every part of the world. Let us not therefore draw up a scheme of general and liberal education and lay the the flattering unction to our souls that it is based on national lines. There is no use disguising the fact that the perfervid advocates of national education really do not know their mind or do not understand the situation. It is a part and parcel of an anti-British campaign and is accepted by most of our people as an item in the patriotic programme without much thought or discrimination either.

'National Education' may be a very good stick to beat Western culture with, but is not a strong enough lever to raise our people or to ameliorate our condition. It will not therefore pay us to run down western culture or to put a premium to the system of education that obtained in the country before the British came in.

EDITORIAL NOTES

What is therefore wanted is not *national education* but education that will give us a *national renaissance*. We must therefore look around us and take facts as they are. Indeed, the aim and end of all real education is culture, but the culture that does not fit you to look facts in the face or to struggle for life and makes you only a snob and a philistine is not the right kind of thing that is wanted. By taking advantage of the arts and sciences of modern life, the European countries and Japan have become what they are—strong and powerful peoples. By ignoring those sciences, we find ourselves left behind and unable to rise equal to the struggles which every nation has to make in the race of life. Intellectual equipment and scientific attainments according to the approved standard of the modern age can only make us a great people and not harping on, or going back to, the old national ideals. Indian ideals are very good—better perhaps than most of us care to admit—in the economy of our social life and so far as our individual conduct is concerned. But what is meant by education on national lines can promise no better prospects to the nation at large than a deep plunge in a sea of general ignorance and ineptitude.

We must learn to fight a modern battle with modern weapons and our training and equipment must be equally modern and upto date. That is the lesson that Japan has to teach India and all other Asiatic countries and we must either profit by that lesson or go to the wall. In the onward march of progress and civilization, education has been elevated to the dignity of a science which includes all knowledge and knows no national limits. The European peoples have realised that education to be useful cannot be restricted by geographical or chronological limitations. They have learnt it to their advantage that there can be no such thing as *national* in education. It should be as wide as human conceptions and embrace all the knowledge that the human race has gathered from the remotest antiquity to the latest hour. We have no doubt that our educational advisers will take note of it and devise a system of education not on *national* but on approved *modern and European lines*. And if they formulate a scheme of education on scientific lines, we hope they will have the courage to label it as *modern* and not *national* in order to do easy homage to a catch-word of the passing hour. A system of healthy education devised with a view to regenerate a fallen people and stiffen up its moral backbone ought not to begin by sailing under *false* colours and ought to be comprehensive and acceptable enough to all classes and sections of Indian mankind in every part of the Empire.

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CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA "The promise of federal self-government to South Africa, the bestowment of free institutions upon the Russian people, the constitutional record of Japan and the Parliamentary projects of the Chinese Empress are found to stimulate the demand of the people of India for some instalment of representative government. Our Hindu fellow-subjects argue that they are surely not less worthy of responsible trust than moujik, Jap or Chinaman ; or if they are, it is a poor commentary on the educative influence of British Rule."

That's how the current *Review of Reviews* puts our case for representative government, for some measure of which the educated Indians have agitated for the last 20 years from the Congress and other platforms without much effect. But for the late Lord Dufferin's foresight, we would not have even got the modicum of representation which we at present enjoy in the Councils of the Empire. Since the India Councils Act was amended about fifteen years ago, the attention of our rulers has been diverted from this main issue and the cause has made no progress. It appears on the contrary that popular representation or the right of interpellation are not very much encouraged in many of our Provincial Councils at the present moment and that the debates held in their meetings, particularly those over the Financial Statements, have been allowed to degenerate into something akin to a farce. This is bound to be so, as long as the heads of our government remain irresponsible autocrats and have no account of their stewardship to render either to the English Parliament or to the Indian people. As long as Provincial Governors and the Indian Viceroy enjoy all the privileges of despots and are allowed to administer the affairs of this country according to their sweet will, so long even the best-conceived constitution or the widest extension of the franchise will not be able to protect the people from oppression or confer any real rights and privileges upon them. So, before wishing for representative government, we should agitate for the establishment of responsible and constitutional government in the country. Once we have responsible government in India, representative government will follow as a matter of course. And even if representative government will then take a long time in coming, it will not matter much, for the end of despotism in itself would be a crowning act of grace and the other blessings may be awaited with patience.

Now is the time to begin a strenuous agitation against despotic and autocratic rule in India. The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has clearly demonstrated how far the evils of personal rule may be carried even in these days and the attention of the English as well

as the Indian people has been forcibly directed to the extent of the mischief that autocracy is still capable of rendering in a country for whose good government the English Parliament is supposed to be responsible. Our leaders should, therefore, avail of this psychological moment and strike the iron when it is still hot.

As to the particular form of constitutional government we should agitate for, the first thing necessary would be to move on lines of least resistance. We must not put forward a revolutionary programme, for thereby we would defeat our object and push back the cause of reform. We must avail of the existing materials, utilise existing machinery and retain the general principles of the present administration. And the only responsible government that can be established in India consistent with this broad principle must be like the one of which we published an outline in our last number. Yet in an editorial leader, the *Englishman* characterised a few days ago our proposals on the subject as 'a brand new constitution,' conveniently forgetting that the nucleus of the government that we have proposed already exists in the country and that no new administrative machinery would be required to give effect to them. Our proposals would only curtail the powers of autocratic rulers and elevate the status of secretariat government into a government by Boards and shift the responsibility of administration from individuals to small departmental councils. No possible injury can be apprehended by this transformation excepting by persons who have been taught to regard India as a legitimate sphere for the exercise of personal vanity and of despotic powers. India should not be administered as a close preserve for the personal aggrandisement of vainglorious and prancing Pro-consuls.

We have made a difference in this note between responsible and representative government. This difference is necessitated by the present conditions of India. In a country where the ruler and the ruled belong to the same people, responsible government is synonymous with representative government. But where, like India, the ruler and the ruled come from different peoples, there responsible government may not necessarily stand for representative government. We may see a responsible government established in India without the people's representatives having anything to do with it. Representative government is no doubt the ultimate aim of every people, but you cannot get to it without passing through several stages of evolution ; and in the case of India we cannot possibly think of a better intervening process than responsible government under English control and direction. What is now wanted is *so*

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after the maleficent character of the present system of government, and for a representative form of government we might possess our souls in patience for some while yet.

Our political endeavour has hitherto been directed towards securing greater representation in all the Municipal and Legislative Councils of the Empire and the little amount of experience that we have been able to gain in this line does not encourage us to entertain the hope that a larger number of people's representatives in these Councils will be able either to prevent unjust laws or check useless expenditure or stop high-handed proceedings, police oppression or the vagaries of individual administrators. It is no good, therefore, crying for greater representation in those Councils or for a direct representation either in the Executive Council of the Viceroy or in the India Council or even in the English Parliament where, in the nature of things, the representative members are bound to be in an impotent minority. The right of inflicting a speech upon an unwilling audience in an unsympathetic council chamber is after all not a great boon. Your vote counts for nothing : your talk is never listened and very often is resented. You are held up to ridicule for frothy sentimentalism and soda-water eloquence. Are these after all so great blessings that one should still wish for their extension ?

We should therefore exercise the wisest discrimination in the matter and agitate for the present only for the blessing that would put an end to personal and autocratic rule. Representative government will naturally follow that stage and will then only be able to do any good to the people. Let us not, therefore, confuse the issues and misunderstand the situation. Putting the cart before the horse is a process which under no circumstances can be attended with happy results.

It is impossible for any Indian, to whatever province may he belong, not to feel a deep sympathy for the people of East Bengal over their present troubles. Mr. Fuller could not have inaugurated the new administration in East Bengal more unhappily than he has done ; and by declaring a crusade against the students and the swadeshi movement and by issuing a series of foolish circulars which Mr. Pugh, a late Advocate-General of Bengal, has declared to be 'unconstitutional and illegal,' and which we reproduce elsewhere, he has not only covered his administration with ridicule but also aroused in the people a sense of deep resentment against British rule. It is quite likely that the report of a 'reign of terror' in that part of the country is a mischievous exaggeration

THE SITUATION IN EAST BENGAL

of people who do not know the bloody incidents of that episode in European history which goes under that name, but there can be no manner of doubt that Mr. Fuller and his Chief Secretary are doing their level best to bring to our mind the days of Pathan rule in India. Mr. Fuller, in his endeavours to emulate the example of the Pathan kings of Delhi or of Saistha Khan of Bengal, does not increase our respect for the glorious traditions of British Administration or for the constitutional principles of English history. Whatever the objects of Mr. Fuller may have been for taking the unusual steps he has recently taken in his new province or to whatever impelling motive they may be due, it goes without saying that they are sure to be defeated by the means he has adopted to carry them out. No sane administrator can think of coercing a people to abandon their resolve to use country-made, in preference to foreign, goods, for, as they say, you can take a horse to the water but cannot make him drink, or of inducing young and impulsive collegians to keep away from political meetings or national demonstrations or to submit to 'sweet reasonableness.' The result of such measures would invariably be, as the news from East Bengal is pointing out to us every day, to strengthen the feelings which are sought to be weakened and undermined, and, what is worse, to make the people lose faith in the righteousness of British rule and justice. The last, as such a distinguished authority as Lord Roberts said the other day, the government cannot afford to lose, in spite of all their arms and equipments. It is by moral influence, and not by physical power, that England still holds India. The 'rule by the sword' is an absurd threat held out to the people by amateurish politicians and short-sighted administrators and is an insult both to England and India. Cautious statesmen have never entertained the idea of ever holding India by the sword, and from Lord Canning downwards several Viceroys and Anglo-Indian Governors have openly scouted it and warned their countrymen against its wisdom. Are our rulers now to open a new leaf in the history of British rule in India and deliberately go back upon the principles of administration which have been so wisely laid down during the last fifty years and more? We hope, for the interests of British rule and for the good name of British justice, that Mr. Fuller should be warned against the policy of setting Hindus against Mahomedans, teachers against students, and armed police against harmless people. Surely, this is not the way to win the 'affection' of a loyal community or to insure among them the custom of British manufactures.

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**Patient laid up in Bed for 10 Months at a time
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During those 34 years I had several severe attacks of this terrible rheumatism. The one in October of 1897, when I was living in Wednesbury, was, I think, the severest attack I ever had ; it kept me in my bed for 10 months, and I became as helpless as a new-born babe. I was attended by one of the best doctors, but he seemed unable to do me much good, although he told me more than once that if I had been a millionaire he could not have tried harder—and I believe him.

In March of 1899 I was kept from business for 17 months again with rheumatism and kidney trouble. There were severe pains in my back and sides (especially the left side) ; my appetite became poor, and I didn't relish the food I was able to eat. There was a nasty taste in my mouth, no matter what I ate or drank and I couldn't keep my food down. Even a pipe of tobacco seemed to go against me, and I became despondent and miserable, feeling that life was not worth living.

But there was worse to follow : not long after, I began to be troubled with the kidney secretions, the pain in passing being almost unbearable at times. There was also a sediment from the urine. These distressing complaints kept getting worse as months went by, until one day I couldn't pass the urine at all ; I was in such a terrible condition at the time that I thought my race was nearly run.

It was then that I heard about Doan's Backache Kidney Pills, and they were spoken so highly of that I determined to try them. After I had taken a few boxes I felt easier, and now that I have taken ten boxes I feel quite free from any sign of rheumatism or kidney trouble. I am a new man to what I was, thanks to your Doan's Backache Kidney Pills. They are indeed worth their weight in gold.

Hoping your will excuse this long letter, and again thanking you for my new health and stength, I remain,

Yours very gratefully,
(Signed) CHARLES OSBORNE.

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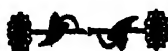
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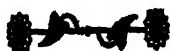
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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. II]

DECEMBER, 1905

[No. 4

THE EMPEROR AKBAR

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AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS

As India has always been pre-eminently an agricultural country, the question of the land revenue must have been of supreme importance from very early times. Originally, it is said, the Sovereign claimed only one-sixth of the produce. This is the amount mentioned by Abul Fazl as having been levied in old times, and the rule laid down in Manu is that "of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth may be taken by the King," according, says the commentator, to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it. But if ever the demand was really so low as this, it was afterwards increased and became one-third or one-half, and even higher. Speaking of Cashmere, Abul Fazl says : "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken ; but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half"(a). As is well known, the share of the crop taken by the landholder in the province of Bihar is rather more than one-half, being nine-sixteenths of the whole.

Many Indian sovereigns must have given their attention to the question of the land revenue, but the most noted among the Muhammadan rulers seems to be 'Ala-ud-din Khilji, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a great, though a despotic, administrator, and several of his measures were adopted by the great Sher Shah.

The earliest official figures of a revenue settlement in India appear to be those given in a list preserved in the Memoirs of the Emperor Babar. Curiously enough, the list occurs only in the

(a) Jarrett's translation, II. 366.

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Turkish original of the Memoirs, and not in the Persian translation. Perhaps it was overlooked by the translator on account of its being already in Persian. It occurs, however, in the Persian paraphrase of the Memoirs made by Babar's secretary, Shaikh Zain. As has been remarked, the fact that the list is in Persian, and not in Turki, shows that it is official, and that Babar obtained it, in part or in whole, from the archives of the Pathan kings of Agra. The list is given in Ilminsky's edition of the Turki text, and in Pavet de Courteille's translation. It also appears in the first volume of Mr. Erskine's *History of India*, Appendix C, he having taken it from Shaikh Zain's paraphrase; and there is a notice of it by Mr. Beames in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* for 1898, and by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 387. The list contains thirty entries, and includes the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, parts of Rajputana and of Bihar, but not Bengal or Orissa, or any portion of Northern India. A note about Mewat—*i.e.*, Alwar, etc.—says that this province was not included in the rent-roll in the time of Sikandar. This shows that the list is an amended copy of a statement prepared in the reign of Sikandar, who was the second last of the Pathan Kings, and the father of Ibrahim Husain Lodi, whom Babar defeated and slew at the Battle of Panipat in 1526. Sikandar reigned from 1488 to 1517, and was a capable and active administrator and the introducer of the Sikandari *gaz* (yard), etc. Babar tells us that the territories mentioned in the list yielded 52 *krors* of *tankas*, but that lands to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* of this amount were in the possession of tributary Rajahs. As the list is based on Sikandar's rent-roll, we cannot doubt that the *tanka* mentioned in it is the Sikandari *tanka*, which is stated by Mr. Thomas to be the twentieth part of a rupee. Probably the rupee at the time was worth half a crown, and so the *tanka* was equal to three half-pence, but for convenience we may take the rupee as worth two shillings. The 52 *krors* of the list, then, are 520 millions of *tankas* (for the *kror* is 10 millions, and not 1 million), and thus, at two shillings the rupee, would be worth about £2,600,000. Probably this is the correct amount, though Mr. Erskine, by a different mode of calculation, makes the amount to be £4,212,000.

Abul Fazl tells us in the *Ayeen-i-Akbari* that from the beginning of the reign intelligent and honest persons had been employed to ascertain the current prices of purchase. But though, according to a statement in the *Akbarnama*(a) the first settlement of the revenue

(a) II. 270.

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took place in the time of Bairam Khan, it rather appears from another passage in the same work^(a) and from Jarrett^(b) that the first settlement was made in the fifth year and just after Bairam's fall. Gladwin, however, puts it into the fourth year. At any rate, it seems to have been made by Khwajah 'Abdul Majid, a native of Herat, and originally in the service of Akbar's father, Humayun. When he was made Vizier, or Financial Minister, 'Abdul Majid received the title of Asaf Khan, who is considered by Muhammadans to have been the Prime Minister of King Solomon, and so the revenue-roll established by him may be known as Asaf Khan's settlement. It was a very imperfect measure, for the extent of Akbar's possessions was very small at the time, and there was little or no opportunity for local inquiries. It was based chiefly upon conjecture, and as it was necessary to satisfy, or at least to appear to satisfy, a great number of hungry retainers, the estimates erred especially by excess, and were in many cases not realized. Abul Fazl calls it a *Jama-i-Raqami Qalami*—"A written settlement according to the kinds of produce." Perhaps the word *Qalami* was meant to signify that it was more a paper settlement than a real one, and probably *Raqami* here means that the settlement was made according to the market value of the various kinds of agricultural produce. It may, however, refer to the amounts of revenue being employed in the Raqam or Siyaq notation—that is, in contractions of Arabic words instead of in Hindi. In the eleventh year of the reign, 1567^(c), Asaf Khan's settlement was, by Akbar's orders, set aside by Muzaffar Khan, another Persian financier, and a new settlement was effected, based on information given by Qanungues and others. Badayuni, it may be noted, puts this settlement earlier in the reign^(d) viz., in 971 H. or 1564—and it also appears from his account and from the *Ayeen-i-Akbari*^(e) that 'Itimad Khan, a eunuch, and whom Badayuni calls Todar Mal's predecessor, had a good deal to do with it. In the same work^(f), Abul Fazl seems to write of Muzaffar's settlement as having been made in the fifteenth year, and not in the eleventh; but I think that fifteenth is a mistake of the text for eleventh. In Persian writing there is, practically, only the difference of a subscribed dot between *yazdahum* eleventh, and *pansdahum* fifteenth, and mistakes are continually occurring. True,

(a) II. 111.

(b) II. 88.

(c) *Akbarnama*, II. 270.

(d) Lowe's translation, 64.

(e) Blochmann's translation, 13.

(f) Jarrett, II. 88.

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Abul Fazl speaks, a little lower down, of a settlement made from the beginning of the fifteenth year ; but this, though it may have contributed to the copyist's error, does not show that fifteenth was right in the first passage, for it is evident that when, in the second passage, Abul Fazl speaks of the fifteenth year he means Todar Mal's settlement, which was made in the twenty-seventh year apparently(*a*), but was based upon the rates prevailing from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year.

Speaking of Muzaffar's settlement, Abul Fazl says that it was not really a *hal-i-hasil*—i.e., a statement of actual produce—but that it deserved this name by comparison with the previous settlement. In the *Ayeen*(*b*) he says that ten *qanungues* were appointed to collect the accounts from the local *qanungues* (*qanunguan-i-juzw*), and to lodge them in the Imperial exchequer. The local *qanungues* must have been several hundreds in number, for, as we learn from Jarrett(*c*), there was one in every district—that is, as the original shows, every *pargana*. Abul Fazl adds that the total of Muzaffar's settlements was somewhat lower than the previous settlement, but that there had been a great difference between the latter and the actual receipts.

The third settlement was made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year—that is, in 990 H. or 1582—and is commonly said to have been effected by Todar Mal. It was based on inquiries made concerning the value of produce, etc., during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and the delay of two or three years in effecting the settlements was doubtless due to the Bengal rebellion and other distracting events. Though this settlement of 1582 is the great event which has immortalized Todar Mal's name, it appears from Badayuni(*d*) that there was a great attempt made to deal with the land question in the nineteenth year of the reign—that is, in 1574. Badayuni and Nizam-ud-din speak of it as dealing mainly with the subject of waste lands. It had struck Akbar that much of the cultivable land was lying waste, and that an effort should be made to extend the cultivation. Abul Fazl represents the measure as one converting the whole of India into Crown land. The custom of assigning lands was apparently abolished, and in lieu of this officers received money allowances. One hundred and eighty-two collectors (*Amil*) were appointed to superintend the arrangements.

(*a*) *Akbarnama*, iii. 381.

(*b*) Jarrett, ii. 88.

(*c*) ii. 66.

(*d*) Lowe, 192 ; Elliot, v. 183 ; and the *Akbarnama*, iii. 117.

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The waste lands were divided into blocks, which were regarded as capable, when the lands were brought under cultivation, of yielding a *kror* of *tanḱas* or *dams*, for the words seem to have been used indiscriminately^(a), and each of them was put under one of the 182 collectors, who, on this account, received the name of *krori*. The arrangement did not apply to Bengal, Bihar, or Gujrat, and, of course, Kabul, Cashmere, etc., were not included in it, as they were not yet conquered. According to Badayuni, the appointment of *kroris* led to great oppression—of the peasantry in the first instance, and afterwards of the *kroris*. He says that the waste lands were measured (with a view to resumption), and that the measurement began in the neighbourhood of Fathepur. The blocks of land received names after the prophets, such as Adampur, Sethpur and Jobpur; but apparently the plan was not fully carried out, though the name *krori* long continued to be used. Doubtless there must have been much difficulty in deciding what were waste lands and what were peasants' holdings, and there would be great room for oppression. It is evident that what were called waste lands or jungles were often of the utmost value to the peasant, and could not be resumed or assessed without great injury to him. As remarked by Mr. Colebrooke, "it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit, or even for his comfortable maintenance." The waste lands supplied pasture for his cattle, bamboos for his houses, etc. Badayuni compares the position of the *kroris* to that of the Hindus in Assam, who, like Calypso's lovers, lived in great plenty for a season, and then had to cast themselves under the wheels of the idol's car. Meanwhile, a great part of the country had been laid waste, and the wives and children of the peasantry sold into slavery. It was also in the nineteenth year that bamboo rods joined together by iron rings were substituted as measures for the ropes formerly in use.

I have spoken of the third settlement as *commonly said* to have been the work of Todar Mal. This is because Abul Fazl, who is our chief authority on the subject, makes in his *Akbarnama* two apparently inconsistent statements about the authorship of the settlement. At p. 381 of Vol. III. he seems to attribute the settlement to Todar Mal, but at p. 282 of the same volume he says that, though the work was at first made over to Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur, it really was effected by the latter. According to the second statement the settlement was made in the 24th year of the

(a) Blochmann, 13.

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reign and not on the 27th. The 24th year was evidently an important one in matters of administration for it was in it that Akbar divided his empire into twelve provinces. Afterwards he increased them to fifteen. The paragraph at p. 282 is so important that I shall here give a translation of it.

"One of the occurrences was the fixing of the Revenue for ten years. In as much as Time produces from season to season a new foundation (*tark*) for rates and there are great risings and fallings, a regulation was made that every year some experienced and honest men should send in details of the rates from all the parts of the country. Every year a general ordinance (*dastur-al-amal*) was framed with respect to the payment of dues. When the imperial domains became extensive and the empires (*galmrū*) of many great potentates came under the shade of the justice of the World's Khedive, such reports arrived late and at different periods. The soldiers and the peasantry suffered loss, and demands of arrears and complaints of excess realizations caused disturbances. It was also rumoured that some writers of rates had deviated from the straight path. The officers stationed at the court were distressed, but were unable to find a remedy. The wise sovereign introduced this new system (the decennial settlement) of revenue payments and thereby caused great joy to multitudes of men. The cream of the invention was that the condition of each pargana during ten years with respect to the degrees of cultivation and produce and the prices thereof was ascertained and that one-tenth of this was fixed as the revenue for each year. This has been explained at length in the concluding volume of this great chronicle. Although the execution of this great enterprise was committed to Rajah Todar Mal and Khwajah Shah Mansur, yet the Rajah was sent off to administer the eastern provinces (Bengal and Bihar) and it was the Khwajah who by the brilliance of his understanding comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite schedules(a)."

Here then the chief merit is assigned to the Persian financier, Shah Mansur, and it is one which should not be lightly taken from him. For Shah Mansur suffered for his honesty and zeal in his master's service. The high officers who had been offended by his scrutiny into their rentals formed a cabal against him and were not ashamed to destroy him by means of a forged letter whereby he was represented as conspiring with the King's enemies. This occurred when Akbar was on the march and he hastily and unjustly held the

(a) *Akbarnama*, iii. 282-83.

charge to be proved and had Shah Mansur hanged upon a tree near his camp. This execution is a great blot on Akbar's character and might serve as a warning to them who prefer the rough and ready procedure of eastern Kings or of Judge Lynch to the tedious investigations of our courts. Akbar, we are told, was very sorry afterwards when he found out that Shah Mansur was innocent, but this could not bring him to life again, nor do we hear that he took any measures to punish the forgers. In this as well as in his treatment of the murderer of Abul Fazl we have evidence that the leniency of an absolute ruler may be a greater wrong than his cruelty. The popular tradition no doubt ascribes all the merit of the settlement to Todar Mal, but popular tradition is apt to exaggerate, especially in India. We have an instance of this in the notion, endorsed by Sir Walter Lawrence, that Todar Mal made the settlement of Cashmere whereas it seems certain that Todar Mal never was in Cashmere and had no hand in the settlement of it. In the *Ayecn-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl characteristically gives the whole credit of the Ten Years' Settlement to Akbar(a).

The so-called ten years' settlement did not, apparently, at all do away with the necessity for annual inquiries and measurements. It did not fix the rents or revenues for ten years. It only fixed the prices of agricultural produce, and so did away with the annual wrangle about market rates. Revenue or rent was still paid according to the special crop grown, and as this must be liable to variation every year, or indeed every six months, it must have been necessary to hold local inquiries once or twice a year. Moreover, it was impossible without local inquiry to know to which of the three descriptions of land,—the good, the middling, and the bad—the fields cultivated in a crop, special or ordinary, belonged; and on the decision of this point the question of the amount of rent turned. The probability is that neither Todar Mal nor his subordinates dealt directly with the actual cultivator. In Todar Mal's suggestions(b), it is stated that the collector's two clerks collude with the village headman (*halantar*), and defraud the cultivator, and the only remedy that he suggests is that one respectable clerk should be substituted for two dishonest ones. We also find in the instructions to the collector(c) that the village headman is to get an allowance of half a *biswa* in the *bigha* (one-fortieth), if by his exertions the rental of the village has been raised to its full capacity.

(a) Jarrett's Translation, p. 88.

(b) *Akbarnama*, iii. 381.

(c) Jarrett, ii. 44.

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According to Abul Fazl, the settlement was based on the cash value of the produce of a *bigha* during the ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth. The rates for the ten years were aggregated, and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment. For the first half of the ten, reliance was placed on figures supplied by trustworthy persons and for the second half the prices of the produce of a *bigha* were accurately determined. In the *Ayeen*, Abul Fazl gives us lengthy tables showing the cash value of the Government share (one-third) per *bigha* of various kinds of produce for nineteen years—viz., from the sixth to the twenty-fourth years—in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Avadh (Oudh), Delhi, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan. The tables are expressed in *dams*—i.e., in a coin valued at the fortieth part of a rupee—and they extend over nineteen pages of Jarrett's translation. There are also some tables, giving the average produce of a *bigha*. At page 63, it is explained that there are three descriptions of *polaj*—i.e., annually cultivated land—viz., good, middling, and bad. For example, the first class yields 18 *maunds* of wheat, the second 12 and the third 8 *maunds* 35 *sirs*. These three being added together, the amount comes to 38 *maunds* 35 *sirs*. One-third of this, or 12 *maunds* 38 *sirs* is the medium produce, and one-third^(a) of this, again, represents the Government demand. As the amount of produce may seem very large, it should be explained that the *bigha* in question is much larger than the ordinary Bengal *bigha* and amounts to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an acre.

Akbar's revenue was chiefly, but by no means entirely, realized in cash. Thus in Bengal all rents were paid in cash, but in Ajmere the amount so paid was very trifling. The proportion of produce paid in this province—namely, one-seventh or one-eighth—was unusually small. Perhaps it was not easy to get more out of the Rajputs, and perhaps also the cultivation in the arid tracts of Rajputana was regarded as extraordinarily difficult. Abul Fazl tells us^(b) that Sher Shah and his son Salim substituted money rents for rents in kind, and he also (at p. 151) makes the startling statement that the custom of dividing the crops does not prevail in Bihar. Surely he made a mistake or the text is corrupt, for payment in kind is still, I believe, almost universal in the province. We find also among the general instructions to the collector (*'Amilguzar*) that

(a) I do not know on what authority Mr. Sewell states (*Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1897, p. 143) that Akbar laid down the principle that all the cultivator was to get was enough to support him till the next harvest.

(b) Jarrett, 61.

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he is to receive payment in kind or in cash, according as the cultivator may desire.

It is difficult, I think, to derive much instruction from the tables of the nineteen years' rates, or to understand why Abul Fazl encumbered^(a) his pages with them. It is not because the ten years' settlement was founded upon them, for there are separate tables for this purpose. The nineteen years' tables are nearly useless, because, in the first place, we do not know the value of the *dam* for each year. It was not always worth one-fortieth part of a rupee. In the second place, the areas for which the rates are given were very large, and several rates must have prevailed in each of them. Perhaps this is the reason why the rates vary excessively in the same year. For instance, what use can be made of a table telling us that the price of wheat in the twenty-fourth year was, in the province of Agra, from 52 *dams* to 116—i.e., the value of the produce varied from Rs. 1.4 to 2.10. So also common rice varied in the same year in the province of Allahabad from 30 *dams* to 61. The tables for the ten years' settlement are more practical, for they give the rates for the various parts of a province in which the same *dastur* or rate prevailed. The really interesting thing in the nineteen years' tables is the list of agricultural products. Thus we see that wheat heads the list of the cold weather crops (the tables are only for some of the Upper Provinces), and sugar-cane that of the hot weather crops; that barley, rice, cotton (*pamba*), flax, pig-nut, opium, and indigo are mentioned, but that there is no reference to tobacco or maize.

We are told in the *Ayeen*^(b) that in the fortieth year of the reign, Akbar's dominions consisted of twelve subahs or provinces—viz., Agra, Ahmadabad, Ajmere, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan. They were subdivided into 105 sarkars, and in these there were 2,737 towns or townships (*qasbahs*). In these provinces Ahmadabad represented Gujrat, Bengal included Orissa, Multan included Sindh, and Kabul included Pakli (the Hazarajat) and Cashmere. The revenue under the ten years' settlement (here called *Jama-i-dahsala*) was 3 arbs, 62 krors, 97 lakhs, 55, 046 *dams*, and 12 *lukhs* of betel-leaves (*barg-i-tambul*, i. e., *pan*). An *arb* is 100 *krors* and a *kror* 100 *lakhs*, so that it is 10 millions, and not merely 1 million. The *dam* was reckoned as the fortieth part of a rupee, so that the revenue in rupees was 90,743,881, or, at 2s. the rupee, £9,000,000. What the value

(a) There is a more useful table in the first volume of the *Ayeen* (Blochmann, 62), where the prices of a great many articles of food are given.

(b) Jarrett, ii. 115.

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of the *pan* was we are not told. The whole of it was contributed by the province of Allahabad^(a). It has been generally assumed that Abul Fazl is here giving the revenue of the fortieth year, but he does not say so, and his words, "when the ten years' settlement of the revenue was made," rather imply that the figures relate to the twenty-seventh year. After the division into twelve subahs had been made, three more were added—viz. Ahmadnagar, Berar, and Khandes or Dandesh. Messrs. Keene and Rodgers have compared Abul Fazl's statement with Nizam-ud-din's, as given at the end of his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*^(b), on the assumption that they relate to nearly the same time, Nizam-ud-din's being for the thirty-ninth year of the reign and Abul Fazl's for the fortieth. But, as I have already said, it is not clear that Abul Fazl's is for the fortieth year, and at all events it is clear that the two statements are not for the same area, for Nizam-ud-din gives 3, 200 as the number of townships, while Abul Fazl only gives 2, 737—i. e., nearly 500 less. It is also impossible that Nizam-ud-din's estimate can be for the thirty-ninth year of the reign, for he died in the middle of that year. He seems to say that the estimate refers to the year 1002 A. H., but that year included part of the thirty eighth year, and it can only be to the thirty-eighth year at latest that the estimate refers. If it does, then apparently there is a difference of eleven years between the period of Nizam-ud-din's estimate and that of Abul Fazl's, the latter referring to the twenty-seventh year. Indeed, the difference is still greater, for though the ten years' settlement was made in the beginning of the twenty-seventh year, the figures were taken from the years between the fourteenth and twenty-fifth years of the reign. It is also necessary to bear in mind that though Abul Fazl's summary statement of the revenues may refer to the twenty-seventh year, his detailed figures relate to a later period than even the fortieth year. In that year Khandesh, or Dandesh, etc., were not conquered, and at p. 227 of Jarrett we find Abul Fazl referring to that province having been incorporated in the empire in the forty-fifth year. It seems to me that Messrs. Rodgers and Keene, and also Mr. Thomas, in striving to make Nizam-ud-din and Abul Fazl agree, have forgotten the maxim of the Canonists: "Distingue tempora et conciliabis doctores."

The total revenue as stated by Nizam-ud-din is 640 *krors* of *muradi tankas*. Now, if the *muradi tanka* were the same as a *dam*, this revenue is nearly double that mentioned by Abul Fazl. If, as

(a) Jarrett, ii. 160.

(b) Elliot, v. 186.

held by Mr. Thomas, it was equal to two *dams*, being equal to the Sikandari *tankas*, of which twenty went to the rupee, the difference between the two statements is doubled and becomes nearly as one to four. But, as has been well observed by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his letter to Mr. Rodgers(a), Mr. Thomas assumes that the *muradi tanka*(b) was the same as the Sikandari *tanka*, but gives no proof of this, nor even any argument. Mr. Thomas asks us to pay great respect to Nizam-ud-din's figures, because he was a provincial administrator for many years ; but before we can do so, we must know what his figures are. Even if we know this, we cannot forget that his statement is a summary one inserted at the end of his book, and that he gives no details or explanation of them. It seems questionable, then, if even we understood his figures, we should prefer them to Abul Fazl's. The real point, however, is, what is the value of the *muradi tanka* ? And it is this, which is the pinch of the case, that Mr. Thomas has left in obscurity. In Forbes's Hindustani dictionary the word *muradi* is given as meaning "change, small money." From a passage in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, translated in Bayley's *Gujrat*, p. 246, it would appear that the *muradi tanka* had come to be current in Gujrat. It says that the Gujrati *tanka*—by which I understand the writer to mean the old Gujrati *tanka*, current in the beginning of the sixteenth century—is worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that this same old Gujrati *tanka* is still current in Khandesh and the Deccan. At least, this is how I understand the passage, which I have looked up in the original, but perhaps the meaning is that it is the *muradi* which is still current in Khandesh and the Deccan. Unfortunately, I do not know(c) what was the value of the Gujrati *tankā* referred to by the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. The author was a Gujrati, and wrote for Gujratis in about the year 1611. If, as seems to be the case, he means that the *muradi tanka* was current in Gujrat in his time, may it not be that it is identical with the Gujrati *tankcha* men-

(a) *A. S. B. J.* for 1885, p. 58.

(b) Perhaps Elliot and Thomas took no notice of the qualifying word *muradi*, because they regarded it as a mere catchword, like *ek zingjir*, elephant, *ek galada*, cheetah ; but it would appear from the passage in Bayley's *Gujrat* that the *muradi tanka* was a special coin.

(c) The B. M. Catalogue of the coins of the Muh. States of India does not mention Gujrati *tankas*. It says in Introduction, p. lix, that silver coins of Gujrat are rare, and that their average weight is 112 grains. It gives none of Muzaffar II., who is the King referred to in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. If his *tanka* weighed only 112 grains, it must have been of much less value than Sher Shah or Akbar's rupee, which weighed 175 grains, even if of equal purity. But probably the *tanka* meant was of copper or of some base metal (billon coins). The Sikandari *tanka* of base metal weighed about 140 grains. The billon (silver and copper) coinage of the Gujrati Kings seems to have been of at least two sizes, one weighing 140 or 146 grains, and the other 70.

tioned in Bayley's *Gujrati*, p. 6, and described as the hundredth part of a rupee? The use of the diminutive affix *cha(a)* may be intended to indicate that the coin current in Gujrat in 'Ali Muhammad Khan's, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, time, was a diminutive of the old Gujratī *tanka*. He wrote in 1161 A. H. or 1748. If this view be correct, the Nizam-ud-din's 640 *krors* of *muradi tankas* would come to 640,00,00,000 divided by 100—that is to Rs. 640,000,000, or, at the exchange of 2s. for the rupee, £6,400,000. This is about one-third less than Abul Fazl's estimate of £9,000,000, and if the latter relates to the twenty-seventh year, the result is, I admit, a most improbable one. It is, indeed, impossible that the revenues can have fallen off by one-third in the interval between the twenty-seventh and the thirty-eighth years. Sir Alexander Cunningham's suggestion(b) that *muradi tankas* are the common *dams* of Akbar (worth forty to the rupee) is more plausible, but unfortunately there is no evidence for this. If *muradi tankas* were the same thing as *dams*, one would have expected a practised accountant like Nizam-ud-din to use the official term. Mr. Keene's suggestion(c) that the *muradi tanka* stands for the sixty-fourth part of a rupee is more likely, as it seems to be supported by local usage. Mr. Keene tells us that the word *tanka* is in dictionaries and in native usage the equivalent of two *paisāh*. As *muradi* is defined in Forbes as meaning small money, it may be that the addition of it to the word *tanka* meant half a *tanka*, or one *paisah*. I am informed by my friend, Mr. Irvine, that *muradi tanka* was forty years ago a current phrase up about Delhi for the *dhabu*, or lump of copper, used as a *paisāh*, and which was also called Mansuri *paisāh*, and still more commonly Gorakhpur *paisāh*. Gorakhpur *paisāh* are referred to in the Regulations, and were not long ago abolished by the Government. If Nizam-ud-din's *muradi tankah* were sixty-four(d) to the rupee, his figures give a total

(a) Bayley's *Gujrat*, p. 6.

(b) A. S. B. J. for 1885, p. 58.

(c) A. S. B. J. for 1881, p. 101.

(d) The author of the *Hadiqat-ul-aqalim*, or Garden of Climes, says (Lucknow ed., p. 663) that he saw at Allahabad the accounts, drawn up in Akbar's time, of the cost of building the fort of Allahabad, and that it was stated in them that the rupee was worth fifty-two *kacha kham* copper *tangus*. Perhaps these were *muradi tangas*. If so, Nizam-ud-din's figures would yield about £12,000,000. At p. 20 of the "Revenue Resources," Thomas quotes in a note a passage from the *Dastur-ul-'Amal* to the effect that the *ana* is worth twenty (*bist*) *dams*. May the *bist* not be a mistake for *kashī*, eight? The two words are often confounded in manuscripts.

Should *muradi tankah* turn out to mean double pice—i. e., half *anas*—Nizam-ud-din's total would be 640,000,000 divided by 32—i. e., £20,000,000. This is a not impossible total, especially as Nizam-ud-din may have included taxes on manufactures, etc., along with the land revenue. At all events, this sum is an improvement on Mr. Thomas's £32,000,000.

of £ 10,000,000, which would be a reasonable increase on Abul Fazl's 9 millions for eleven years previous. As pointed out by Mr. Keene, *paisāh* was an old name for the *dam*(a). Mr. Thomas makes the *muradi tanka* to be double *dams*, and so he raises Nizam-ud-din's estimate to the incredible figure of £32,000,000. But, as we have seen, he offers no evidence for this view. He gave none in his *Chronicles*, and in his later work, *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, he gives us nothing more. All he says is : "There can be very little contest about the value of Nizam-ud-din's prices, designated as *Tankah Muradi*. They were, in effect, the old Sikandari *tankah* of twenty to the silver *tankah*." But if they were so, why did Nizam-ud-din call them by another name? Mr. Thomas argues that Nizam-ud-din's six odd *arbs* do not differ very much from the five and nearly three-quarter *arbs* of Abul Fazl's detailed estimate, and on this account he would, in the first place, in defiance of all the manuscripts, alter the *sih* or three of the *Ayeen* into *shash* or six, and, in the second place, in defiance of Abul Fazl's statement, make out the *dams* of his detailed estimates to be Sikandari *tankas*, that is, double *dams*(b). But he forgets that it is unnecessary to alter Abul Fazl's figure *sih*, as the statement in which it occurs refers to the settlement of the twenty-seventh year; and he also forgets that though Nizam-ud-din's figures do not much exceed Abul Fazl's detailed figures, yet the difference is aggravated by its being in the wrong direction. Nizam-ud-din's figures are for the thirty-eighth year at the latest, and cannot include Khandesh and Birar, for they were not then conquered, whereas Abul Fazl's do include Khandesh, or Dandesh and Birar, and are for the forty-fourth year, or even later. Abul Fazl's figures, therefore, should be larger and not less than Nizam-ud-din's. In my opinion it is useless to discuss Nizam-ud-din's figures until we have more certain information as to what he meant by the term *muradi*. Even if it should be proved that he meant thereby Sikandari *tankas*, I think it would be unsafe to prefer his summary statement to the detailed estimate of Abul Fazl, supported, as the latter is, by the statement of Abdul Hamid that the revenue at Jahangir's accession was 700 million *dams*. As, however, my only wish is to get at the truth, I am bound to admit that some countenance to the view that *muradi*

(a) Blochmann, 31.

(b) It appears from Mr. Thomas's monograph, p. 20, that he has abandoned the view contended for in the "Chronicles" that the *dams* of the *Ayeen* are double *dams*. But this abandonment leaves us without any explanation of why the later and detailed estimates of Abul Fazl are less than half of Nizam-ud-din's, if, as Mr. Thomas supposes, the *muradi tankas* were twenty to the rupee.

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tankas means double *dams* is afforded by a statement in the *Ayeen* about the revenues of Birar. We have seen that the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* states that the Gujrati *tanka* was worth eight *muradi tankas*, and that the former was still current in Khandesh and the Deccan. We may therefore regard it as probable that the Berari *tanka* of Jarrett(a) was the Gujrati *tanka* of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. Now, Abul Fazl says that the Berari *tanka* was equal to eight Delhi *tankas*—i.e., I presume Sikandari *tankas*—and if so, on the principle that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, we may hold that Birari—i.e., old Gujrati *tankas*—were equal to eight *muradis*. It also appears from Abul Fazl's figures that the Birari *tanka* was worth sixteen *dams*(b), and consequently the *muradi*, or one-eight, would be worth two *dams*, which is what Mr. Thomas contends for. The point, however, is doubtful, for Abul Fazl speaks of the Berari *tanka* as being worth twenty-four *dams*(c). It has occurred to me as possible that the word "muradi" may refer to Sultan Murad(d), Akbar's second son(e) who was Viceroy of Gujrati. Nizam-ud-din was long connected with that province as *bakhshi*, or pay-master, and so may have come to use the term. It is also possible that the *muradi tanka* may mean the debased currency of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, referred to by Mr. Thomas(f). Observe the use of the word *murad* in the passage of Nizam-uddin, and observe also that Firishta, as I understand him, makes Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq's *tanka*(g) equal to sixteen *puls* (copper pice?). Perhaps these *puls* are the *pawlah* or quarter *dam* of the *Ayeen*(h). Here we may notice that Mr. Grant,

(a) ii, 131.

(b) It is also worthy of notice that at the end of the paragraph (Jarrett, ii, 231) Abul Fazl uses the expression "Delhi *dams*." One would hardly expect him to use this expression if he was referring to Akbar's *dams*, for Agra was his capital, and if he had used any adjective in speaking of them, it would probably have been Shahinshah. Probably, then, he means either the *dams* of Sher Shah—i.e., *paisah* or the *dams* of Sikandar.

(c) Jarrett's Translation, p. 225.

(d) Another explanation of *muradi* is that originally it meant a small coin offered at a shrine in order to obtain a wish (*murad*). Afterwards it came to be a catch-word prefixed to *anas* and *pice*; thus we have the expression *muradi panj ana*, meaning merely five *anas*. "If anything is certain," says Mr. Keene, "it is that the use of the word *muradi* in accounts means that a sum is being expressed in copper." This seems to differentiate *tanka muradi* from Sikandari *tanka*, which were of base metal—a mixture of silver and copper. See analyses in Thomas's *Chronicles*, 308.

(e) Mr. Wright says in *A.S.B. J.* for 1904, p. 73, that Murad Bakhsh, the son of Shah Jehan, issued copper *dams* in his own name. As the coins seem to have no year on them, may they not be coins of Sultan Murad, the son of Akbar? Sultan Murad Bakhsh, at p. 69 of the Numismatic Supplement, is clearly a mistake of Dr. Taylor for Sultan Murad.

(f) p. 229, note 3, of his *Chronicles*.

(g) See account of this coinage in B. M. Cat. of Coins of Delhi Sultans. Introduction, p. xxi *et seq.*

(h) Blochmann, 31.

in his "Political Survey of the Northern Circars"(a), says that before Todar Mal's period the only coin in common use in Hindustan was in copper, and that sixteen of them were reckoned equal to a *tanka* of base silver.

Leaving, however, Nizam-ud-din's summary statement out of consideration(b), on the ground that we do not know what was the value of the *muradi tanka*, we have two authoritative statements by Abul Fazl of Akbar's revenues. One refers to the ten years' settlement made in the twenty-seventh year, and which was based on estimates and realizations from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth years. This gives a total of about 9 millions of pounds. The second is a detailed estimate extending down to the forty-fifth year, and gives a total of over 14 millions(c). This is not an improbable increase on the estimate for the twelve provinces in the twenty-seventh year, seeing that two if not three more provinces are included in it. It also agrees fairly well with De Laet's statement that at Jahangir's accession the revenue was 6 *arbs* 98 *krors* of *dams*, or 3 *arbs* 49 *krors* of *tankas*, and with Abdul Hamid's statement that at the death of Jahangir (who did not add to Akbar's territories) the revenue was 700,000,000 *dams*. De Laet's statement practically agrees with Abdul Hamid's, and gives a revenue of 17½ millions of pound. I submit, therefore, that the proper conclusion to come to is that Akbar's revenue never exceeded 17½ millions sterling and was during most of his reign much less.

It should also be remembered, in comparing Akbar's revenue with that of British India, that his realm included Afghanistan, Cashmere, and the Native States of Rajputana. It must be said, too, that Abul Fazl's details of the revenue are in many instances exceedingly doubtful, and that they probably include many unrealizable items. For instance, he gives a large revenue for the Sarkar of Monghyr, though it had not been measured; and he states a revenue

(a) *Fifth Report*, p. 640.

(b) Whatever doubts there may be about the exact value of the *tanka muradi* of Nizam-ud-din's estimate, there can be no question about their being much less in value than the Sikandari *tankas*, that is half-rupees. The phrase is used twice by Nizam-ud-din's friend and copyist, Badayuni, who says at p. 416 of Mr. Lowe's translation, where the word *muradi* is rendered "small change," that Akbar gave him a horse and 10,000 *tanka muradi* for translating a book, and again at p. 402 that Akbar gave a Qandahar princeling and fugitive named Mirz Rustum a *kror*, that is, ten millions of *tanka muradi*. Now, however liberal Akbar might be, he would hardly give Badayuni £500 in addition to a horse for a translation, and still less would he give half a million of rupees or £50,000 to a young man who was not related to him and had no claim upon him. Akbar was just and princely in his gifts, but he was not a thoughtless Calenda like his father and grandfather. Mr. Thomas' idea then that Nizam-ud-din's estimate implies that Akbar had a revenue of £32,000,000 seems to fall to the ground.

(c) *Thomas' Revenues*, 13.

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from Chittagong, though it had not been conquered. Under the head of the Subah of Ajmere, he gives revenue from Jodhpur, Amber, and Bikanir, though these were in the hands of Rajput princes, some of them connected with Akbar by marriage, who were very unlikely to pay him any tribute.

Besides the land revenue, there were taxes on manufactures, but we have no means of ascertaining what these amounted to. As usual, Abul Fazl gives forth an uncertain sound about Akbar's proceedings in regard to taxes. At p. 58 of Jarrett he seems to say that Akbar abolished them entirely, while at p. 66 he says that Akbar diminished the taxes on manufactures from 10 to 5 per cent. In the instructions to the kotwal he is directed not to demand any tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats, or merchandise (*gumash*, perhaps silk). Though Akbar did abolish many cesses, especially the *jiziya*, or capitation tax on Hindus, he also occasionally imposed new ones. For instance, he in 972 or 1565, imposed a tax of 3 *sirs* of corn on every *bigha* in the province (*walayat*), to defray the cost of building the fort of Agra. Apparently this cess extended over four or five years, and produced 3 *krors* of *tankas*, or about £150,000(a). Akbar's grandfather, Babar, in 1528 arbitrarily increased the taxes by 30 per cent. At p. 66 of Jarrett we have a long list of the taxes abolished by Akbar. But the Fifth Report shows that human nature was too strong even for despotic reformers, and that *abwabs* i.e., cesses, increased and multiplied.

The basis of Akbar's settlement was a measurement of the land, and we find many instructions on this subject in the *Ayecn*. Unfortunately, perhaps, Akbar thought it necessary to introduce a new standard of measurement—namely, the *ilahi* or divine *gaz* (yard). As this was not done till the thirty-first year, the first ten year's settlement must have undergone subsequent modifications. The continual additions to the imperial domains must also have made fresh measurements necessary.

Elphinstone has given in his *History of India* a good and careful abstract of Akbar's settlement regulations, as shown in Gladwin's translation of the *Ayecn*; but it appears to me that he has over-estimated the extent and value of Akbar's innovations. He says: "All these settlements were at first made annually, but their continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the preceding ten." He adds: "The prolongation of the term mitigated another evil

(a) See Badayuni, Lowe, 75, and Elliot, v. 295.

inherent in the system ; for as the assessment varied with the sort of cultivation, it had all the effect of a tithe in disposing the husbandmen to cultivate a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater profit, would have a higher tax to pay at the next settlement." But as the foundation of the assessment was the nature of the crop cultivated, it is difficult to understand how an annual examination and alteration of assessment could be avoided. A great deal must have depended on the character and honesty of the collector and his subordinates. These instructions to the collector leave him a good deal of independence. For instance, he is told that he should stimulate the increase of valuable produce, and remit somewhat of the assessment with a view to its augmentation.

Each subah or province was under the charge of an officer, whom Akbar called *sipahsalar*—"commander of the forces," but who was afterwards known as *subahdar*. The regulations for his conduct are given in the *Ayeen*, and contain some quaint provisions. Under him was the *faujdur*, who is described as having several *pargunas* assigned to him. He was the *sipahsalar's* military assistant, and his special duty seems to have been to preserve order and to put down sedition and rebellion. He kept the roll of the troops, and looked after the branding of horses, etc. Apparently the *faujdur's* services were especially required in frontier and outlying districts where wild tribes had to be controlled, etc. Accordingly we find such districts as Sylhet, Purneah, and Rajmahal called *faujdaris* in the Fifth Report. After the *faujdars*, came the law officers, the *Mir-i-Adl* and the *Qazi* (Cadi). These two offices were often held by one person. The police officer in charge of a town was called the *kotwal*. The instructions to him are the most singular in the code, and, as Elphinstone remarks, "keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism." But, as he also justly remarks, "the tone of instructions to all the functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort." The collector (*Amilguzar*) was an important officer and his duties are stated in great detail. The first injunction is that he should be the friend of the agriculturist. When there was no *kotwal* he was to act as such. His assistant, the *bitikchi*, was probably of still more importance to the ryot, for he was to ascertain from the *gunungu* the average demand state of the village revenues in money and kind.

It is unfortunate that we have so few details about Todar Mal and his reforms. The *Ayeen-i-Akbari* seems at first sight to be very full, but when examined the statements are found to be vague

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and obscure. Badayuni is valuable as giving the other side of the shield. But he was much more interested in religious questions and in Akbar's treatment of rent-free tenures and of learned men than in the condition of the peasantry. He is pathetic about the sufferings of the *aimahdars*, or rent-free holders, who were deprived of their lands by the *kroris*, but he has little to say about the ordinary husbandman. No doubt it was the resumption of grants that caused the greatest outcry against Akbar's financiers, and even led to the summary hanging of one of the ablest of them—Shah Mansur. The great officers were not ashamed to conspire against him, and to forge a letter, upon the strength of which Akbar had him executed. It was also this resumption of grants which led to the Bengal rebellion. There can be no doubt that Todar Mal was a most able administrator and Akbar deserves all credit for having employed him, and for having supported him against his Muhammadan officers. Badayuni tells us that when the Amirs complained of the Rajah to Akbar and requested his dismissal, he replied : " Every one of you has a Hindu to manage his private affairs. Suppose we, too, should have a Hindu : why should harm come of it ? " Apparently, as was also the case with Itimad, the eunuch, and other of Akbar's officers, Todar Mal's merits were first discovered by Sher Shah, for we find^(a) that Todar Mal was employed to build Sher Shah's new fort of Rohtas in the Panjab. There is an interesting account of Todar Mal and his settlement, though not free from errors, in Mr. James Grant's " Political Survey of the Northern Circars^(b)."

The great merit of Akbar in regard to revenue settlements was that he paid attention to the subject and had the insight to select a capable man to superintend the arrangements. The great merit of Todar Mal probably consisted in his unwearied application to business and in his honesty. Abul Fazl describes him as void of avarice. The wise words of Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, on the subject of administration under the Mughals may fitly close this paper :

" The Mogul dominion, in the best times and under the wisest Princes, was a government of discretion. The safety of the people, the security of their property, and the prosperity of the country, depended upon the personal character of the monarch. By this standard his delegates regulated their own demeanour ; in proportion as he was wise, just, vigilant, and humane, the provincial Vice-

(a) Elliot, v. 114.

(b) *Fifth Report*, p. 637.

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roys discharged their respective *gists* with zeal and fidelity ; and as they possessed or wanted the recited qualifications, the inferior agents conducted themselves with more or less diligence and honesty. A weak monarch and corrupt minister encouraged and produced every species of disorder, for there was no law paramount to the Sovereign's will. Few of the officers of government were liberally paid, and property was left to accumulate from breach of trust, abused patronage, perverted justice, or unrestrained oppression. This description I conceive to be applicable to all Muhammadan governments, where practice is for ever in opposition to the theory of morals ; and a few remarkable instances of distinguished virtue or forbearance are exceptions which deduct little from the universality of the remark."

H. Beveridge

(*To be continued*)

THE MINERAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA^(a)

Obviously, before sketching out a line of advance, it would be wise to take stock of our present position, and to determine the trend of recent progress in mineral developments. Recognising this principle, much of my time has been devoted lately towards improving the system of collecting statistics of mineral production and of critically analysing the results. The first essay in this direction has been published by Government in the form of a review of progress made during the years 1898—1903^(b). For the assistance of those who wish to follow the subject with closer detail than is possible in this paper, I propose to make that review the basis of the first part of my remarks, modifying the conclusions stated therein by the extension of data to the end of 1904.

Those who have had occasion to consult the Review of Mineral Production for 1898—1903 will have noticed that the first table of figures professes to express the total value of minerals produced within the period under discussion. It is the first attempt we have made to express the value of our mineral produce in terms of a standard currency, and to the critical student of political economy it is not necessary to do more than point out the shortcomings which are specially attached to this particular statement in addition

(a) A paper read before the Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares on the 30th December.

(b) Records, Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXII, part 1, January 1905.

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to the imperfections common to, and confessedly inseparable from, all such methods of expressing the value of natural products (see table).

VALUE OF MINERALS FOR WHICH RETURNS WERE AVAILABLE IN 1898 AND 1904

		1898		1904
		Rs.		Rs.
Gold	...	2,41,27,560	...	3,54,91,185
Coal(a)	...	1,43,57,430	...	2,09,82,390
Petroleum(a)	...	10,18,461	...	71,09,565
Salt(a)	...	53,83,990	...	65,62,950
Saltpetre(b)	...	39,88,440	...	39,95,235
Manganese-ore(b)	...	4,11,389	...	19,44,480
Mica(b)	...	8,08,350	...	14,68,980
Rubies	...	8,69,250	...	13,59,180
Jadestone(b)	...	6,26,700	...	7,60,890
Graphite(a)	...	1,650	...	3,00,720
Iron-ore(a)	...	1,86,045	...	1,89,255
Tin-ore(a)	...	38,295	...	1,25,295
Chromite(a)	...	...	...	62,055
Diamonds	...	35,000	...	39,540
Magnesite(a)	...	...	...	13,140
Amber	...	15,915	...	12,570
Total		5,18,68,475		8,04,17,430

The chief amongst its special shortcomings is one which we hope gradually to reduce, though we shall never wholly exterminate, being due to the omission of items for which even approximate returns are at present unobtainable. One of the largest of these, and one of the most important in determining the progress of a country, is that of common building materials. The extent to which structural materials are used in a country would form a better measure of its industrial progress than even a periodical census of its population if we could but express their quantity and nature in terms of any recognised standard. But it will be many years before we shall be able to assume with safety that the returns for building materials in India conform to the recognised test of all statistical expressions in covering all but an unimportant fraction of the total.

This claim can be made, however, for the sixteen minerals included in the table of total values now given, and it is hoped

(a) Spot prices.

(b) Values on export.

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gradually to enlarge this list until the residue of those left unestimated is a fraction too small to disturb our percentages, or materially to affect the curve of progress. The table is obviously not intended to afford a means for comparing the mineral production of India with that of any other country ; it merely gives us at a glance the rate of progress which is being made, the same system of expression being followed from year to year. Used in this way, it will be seen that the total production of minerals for which approximately accurate and trustworthy returns are available has risen in value from about $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees in 1898 to over 8 crores in 1904, that is, an increase of 55 per cent. in six years.

Considered as a mere rate of progress in value of output, this table is extremely satisfactory ; but a critical review of the constituents of our yearly totals reveals a seriously weak feature in the present state of the industry. The most valuable amongst the minerals raised are either consumed by direct processes, without contributing to subsidiary chemical and metallurgical industries, or are mined simply for export. The obvious cause of these weaknesses and the probable cure for them will be discussed when we have briefly surveyed the chief items in mineral production.

The mineral of greatest value to the country is undoubtedly coal, for 94 per cent. of the mineral produced is consumed in various industries in the country. The actual money value returned for last year's output of coal amounted to more than 2 crores of rupees, but such an expression gives only an imperfect idea of its value ; for whilst the value of Bengal coal is returned at the average rate of about Rs. 2-6 a ton, that of the inferior material raised in Burma is reported at about Rs. 7 a ton. The so-called values given in our general table are thus more accurately described as local prices, varying, naturally, according to the relation between the cost of production and the demand of the nearest market. The average pit mouth price of Indian coal is less than half that of coal raised in the United kingdom, Australia and Canada, and is about two-thirds of that raised in the United States. Even taking into account its slightly inferior calorific value, there is still a great saving in fuel charges for those who will undertake the enterprise of reviving the decayed metallurgical industries of India to compete with the foreign metals for which we have now to pay such enormous bills.

The coal-mining industry began in the Ranigunj area as long ago as 1777, but the industry was naturally restricted to local requirements until the East Indian Railway connected the field with

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Calcutta in 1854. Since then, the output has risen from about 300,000 tons in 1857 to 3,350,257 tons in 1904. Until 1870, the output for the Ranigunj field represented the total for India ; but with the distribution of railways, other coal-fields in Bengal became opened up, and finally the deposits known in the Central Provinces in Central India, the Nizam's Dominions, in Rajputana, Punjab, Baluchistan, Assam and Burma contributed to swell each year's total until 1904, when the coal production for India during the year reached the record of 8,216,706 tons.

Practically every feature of the coal-industry can be regarded with satisfaction by those interested in the progress of the country. Imports of foreign coal have been gradually reduced to about 250,000 tons a year ; the proportion of foreign coal consumed on our railways has been cut down during the past twenty years from over thirty to under one per cent. of the total ; new markets have been found in the Indian Ocean ports, with the result that exports have exceeded the imports, and last year reached 602,810 tons ; although the railways still take about 30 per cent of the coal produced, there is a tendency for this proportion to diminish, showing that other industrial enterprises requiring fuel have developed faster even than the railways, and that the enormous rise in production is a true index to industrial progress. I can point to one regretful feature only in this trade, and that is the fact that in many mines the resources of the thick seams have not been fully turned to account. This loss, so far, is, however, an unimportant item compared to the enormous stores of coal that we know still lie untouched, and the systematic mining, now being enforced under Government regulations, framed from a purely humanitarian standpoint, has a secondary effect in producing increased efficiency and more complete utilization of the stocks of marketable coal.

From the worker's point of view the coal-mining industry is equally satisfactory. Over 100,000 workers are employed directly in connection with coal-mines in India, and the death-rate from accidents is lower here than in any coal mining country in the world.

In this respect, coal-mining compares favourably with gold and mica-mining which maintain a much smaller number of workers, whilst in Bengal, where the natural conditions are so favourable to safe underground work, the average death-rate from coal-mining accidents is distinctly lower than in any other Province or State. If risks to life were estimated by coal-mining in India, the industry would not be classed amongst " dangerous " occupations : there is not only a low rate from isolated accidents, but a remarkable free-

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dom from disasters, which, in European countries, have done more than accurate statistics to force special legislation for the protection of workers engaged in "dangerous" occupations.

When one sees in a coal-mining district the general happiness and well-to-do condition of the miner, one is inclined to regard the dangers incurred as fairly gauged by the proportion between the results of accidents and the numbers who find congenial and profitable employment. The Indian collier, in this respect, is far better off than any other in the world. He can earn higher wages than those engaged in simple agriculture ; he is now being provided with suitable quarters under sanitary conditions, and is encouraged on the best-managed collieries to acquire fields for his own use. The general attractiveness of the industry is revealed by the great increases in the population shown by the last census for the civil subdivisions in which mining has mainly developed. In the Giridih sub-division there was an increase of 4 per cent between 1891 and 1901, whilst in the Gobindpur sub-division of Manbhum there was an increase in population during the same period of 25 per cent. One feature of the industry, which appears to be slowly diminishing, is the comparative inefficiency of the Indian miner : in this country we turn out about 80 to 90 tons of coal a year for each worker employed ; for the rest of the British Empire the annual output per collier is about 285 tons.

Amongst the remaining minerals, the most conspicuous progress has been made in developing the petroleum resources of Burma. During the past ten years, the production has risen ten-fold, the output of crude oil last year amounting to 118½ million gallons. The imports of foreign oil have been largely displaced by the home production, which enjoys the slight protection of the difference between royalty and import duty. At the same time, there has been a valuable trade created in the export of Indian kerosene and of paraffin wax obtained from the crude oil, these exports in 1904 being worth 28 lakhs of rupees.

The old method of raising oil from narrow shafts 200—300 feet deep was the only system followed by the hereditary oil-diggers until Upper Burma came under the British Administration in 1886, when deep wells were drilled by the Burma Oil Company, and the lower sands, containing the largest supplies of oil, hitherto untouched, were exploited. Since then, the output has rapidly risen in the Yenangyaung field alone to the extraordinary figure of 73 million gallons in 1904.

The petroleum trade in Burma supports a large population of

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labourers on the field, in the refineries, and in the transport trade ; the increased output has been a source of profitable revenue to Government ; the importer has been compelled to keep his prices down to face competition with the native product, and in every respect but one the whole industry has been a source of solid wealth to the country. The one regrettable feature is the fact that the capital required to drill the deep wells has been raised in Europe, and the profits consequently have left the country. In the petroleum industry, as in so many other enterprises of the kind, India will continue to pay such an unnecessary and undesirable tax as long as those in the country who possess money will not risk their reserve funds in industrial enterprises.

The other large mineral industries which produce a rosy picture by a yearly expanding table of values cannot be regarded with unalloyed satisfaction. Nearly 30,000 workers are maintained by gold-mining, a certain number of luxuries are obtainable in the two centres of production, and over a million sterling has been retained in the country in the form of royalty ; but more than eight times the royalty has been paid in dividends.

Rubies, obtained on a much smaller scale in Burma, may be ranked with gold ; both are limited in value to the royalty and the local support of labour. But our loss of metalliferous ores, of fertilizers and of minerals employed in the great web of industrial arts necessary for the the maintenance of a civilized community is in no sense compensated by the individual profits obtained by a few workers and traders.

It is in the belief that the dissemination of information about our imperfections, as well as our resources, will in some small degree assist in placing our mineral industry on a sounder economical basis, that I have, with the full sympathy of Government, accepted the invitation of your committee to address this Conference. It is with the assurance that we possess in the country the natural elements essential for the restoration of our decayed metallurgical and chemical industries that I have diverted the energies of my colleagues, and have commenced the expenditure of public money for the investigation of our resources in minerals which are essential to industries now maintained entirely by imports, for which we have not only to pay heavy bills to other countries, but to exist always in a state of absolute dependence for articles that are no longer mere luxuries.

Thirteen years ago, India produced no manganese-ore at all. This year our output of the ore will not be exceeded by more than

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one or two of the twenty countries that contribute to the World's total supply. Manganese-mining may thus be looked upon as a successful new industry, one that helps to swell the table of total values, and to give an impression of industrial expansion. It is better that manganese-ore should be raised for export than be allowed to lie idle in the ground ; but this country receives no more than fifteen out of the thirty rupees that a ton of manganese-ore is worth at an American or European port. We thus not only lose half the value of the mineral, but have to pay again for the metal it contains in the large imports of steel, for which India is still practically dependent on Europe. The same thing has now commenced in connection with the chrome iron-ore. To the miner the chrome-ore is worth about 23 shillings a ton, whilst the European manufacturer pays 75 shillings for it. Until iron and steel are manufactured on a large scale in India, we have to submit, either to this imperfectly compensated drain of the mineral resources, or the still less profitable alternative of allowing the minerals to lie undeveloped.

I have seen it stated as a matter for regret that India has lost the place it once held as the World's supplier of saltpetre. There was a time when saltpetre, being an essential constituent of gunpowder, gave India a place of special political importance amongst the nations, when during rumours of war saltpetre became an object of speculation as dangerous as the consols of the countries involved in a possible war. Since then, the potassic nitrate of India has been largely displaced by the discovery of large quantities of sodic nitrate in Chili, and its use in the manufacture of gunpowder has been curtailed by the invention of other and more efficient explosive chemical compounds. Although we still export nearly 20,000 tons of saltpetre every year, the trade shows a tendency to diminish rather than expand, and as long as our agriculturists and planters remain in a state of ignorance as to its value, it is better to reap the profit obtained by export than to leave the substance lying idle in the soil. But it would be still more profitable if we could turn it to its natural use as a fertilizer, and with this end in view, the Agricultural Department has been experimenting, hoping to reduce its cost of manufacture, as well as, to discover to which of our crops it can be most profitably applied.

About 53 per cent of the constituents of saltpetre are obtained indirectly from the air under the peculiar meteorological conditions which exist ideally in Behar ; the remaining constituent exists in unlimited quantities in our soil. We consequently possess the power of indefinite reproduction, and that which is exported thus leaves

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the country none the poorer. But the case is otherwise with our export of bones, of which we lose nearly 100,000 tons every year. Nine-tenths of the constituents of bones consist of phosphate of lime derived from the soil, and consequently what is exported in this form is so much lost in the way of material essential to the production of our grain crops. As India is poor in phosphatic deposits, the time will come, if this drain is not compensated, when the soil will begin to show its deficiency in phosphates. But there is a form of compensation within our reach, and I will deal with this point after reference to one or two other unfavourable features in our balance sheet of exports and imports.

In preparing the data for the review of our mineral production recently published by the Geological Survey, the two features that struck me most forcibly were, firstly, the remarkable development of minerals consumed by what conveniently might be called direct processes, such as coal, gold, petroleum, gem-stones and salt, or which are raised merely for export, such as manganese-ore, graphite, saltpetre, mica, tin and chrome iron-ore ; and, secondly, the equally pronounced neglect of the metalliferous ores and the minerals essential to the more complicated chemical and metallurgical industries.

In these respects, India of to-day stands in contrast to the India of a century ago. The high quality of the native-made iron and steel, and the artistic products in copper and brass once gave the country a prominent position in the metallurgical world. To-day the manufacture of iron by the primitive *lohar* has been restricted to small local industries, limited to areas far removed from the railways and ports, which have permitted the importation of cheaper goods from Europe ; copper and brass-wares are made entirely from imported metals ; no lead-mining now exists in the country, while the once flourishing manufactures of alum, the various alkaline compounds, blue vitriol, and copper as are now all but exterminated. These facts are expressed in our returns for imports. Our imports of minerals, chemicals and metals amount to over 10 million sterling (15 crores of rupees) a year, without counting articles manufactured from metals and minerals, such as glass-ware, earthenware, porcelain, hardware, cutlery, machinery, millwork and railway plant, much of which would be obtained in any case from foreign countries whether we raised the necessary raw materials or not. But so far as I can find, with the exception of quicksilver, which is the smallest item in the bill, there is not one amongst the imported minerals and metals not known to exist in the country. I am not prepared

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at present to say that all of them exist in quantity sufficient, and in a form suitable, to displace the foreign article in open competition ; but the most valuable certainly do so exist, and it is towards the development of these that our energies should be directed.

It is, however, not sufficient merely to know that we have unlimited supplies of a mineral, to assert that we can face foreign competition. The case of copper will give a convincing illustration. In 1901 our imports of copper were valued at about one crore of rupees ; in 1904, on account mainly of the extended use of electric power, these imports had risen to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees. The increased demand for copper naturally directs our attention to the copper-ores which were once worked in India and known to occur in large quantities. But our ores, like those largely worked elsewhere, are copper sulphides, and we know that such ores are worked elsewhere with profit only because the sulphur as well as the copper is turned into marketable products. It is thus not enough to know that we have a demand for copper : we cannot work our copper-ores against foreign competition unless we have a market for the bye-product sulphur. To make use of our sulphur, we must have a demand also for sulphuric acid sufficient to take all that will be produced in smelting the copper-ores. To find a local market for sulphuric acid, we must have other chemical industries, many of which cannot exist unless their bye-products are also marketable in the same area. To extract the metal, therefore, with profit, it is necessary to find an assemblage of smaller industries in order to utilize the bye-products economically. Consequently chemical and metallurgical industries do not exist singly, but in family groups.

In this case we have an illustration of the way in which the European manufacturer has killed the native Indian chemical industries. He has turned his bye-products to full account, and with the reduction in freights, following improved forms of transport, he is able to compete at distant points with those who work minerals for one or only a few of their constituents. On account almost entirely of the economic recovery of bye-products, the price of sulphuric acid in England has been reduced during the last seventy years from over £18 to under £3 a ton ; at the same time, the dependent manufacturer of soda-ash has reduced his prices from over £16 to about £4, whilst bleaching powder has dropped from about £19 to £3-10s. Since the opening of the Suez canal, with the reduced cost of transport by improvements in marine engineering, eastern freights have dropped to about one-fifth of what they were before the canal was opened. In consequence, the European

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manufacturing chemist is able to place his bye-products at a profit in parts of India where the same compounds are formed by the natural processes of a tropical climate, and merely require extraction.

It looks at first sight as if we could never recover our lost metallurgical and chemical industries. But the rapid spread of railways in India, the gradually extending use of electricity, and development of manufactures connected with jute, cotton and paper have gradually increased the demand for chemicals and metals, until now we have probably reached the stage at which the quantity and variety of products required will be sufficient to form an outlet for the bye-products that are necessary in a well-defined family circle of chemical industries ; and the protective effect of sea-freights will assist in the competition with the materials of European manufacture.

I have already cited the case of copper as an example of a metal for which there is a rapidly increasing, and so far as one can judge, of a permanently increased demand on a scale sufficient to produce large quantities of sulphuric acid. When I took up this question two years ago, the first doubt to settle was the extent of a market for the sulphuric acid, for at present the acid imported is a comparatively small quantity, limited by the enormous cost of its freight. A certain amount also is manufactured, but its price is also of necessity kept up by the cost of importing the required sulphur. Obviously, to judge the possible market by the present consumption of sulphuric acid in India, would give us little hope of developing our copper-sulphide ores. Knowing, however, that sulphuric acid, in the presence of a sufficient number of raw materials, and of certain industries would rapidly make its own market, we turned our attention to the possible outlets in India. The import returns reveal a small demand for certain inorganic chemicals which are made by the direct use of sulphuric acid, and although we are safe in assuming that the demand for them would increase by a slight reduction in price, there is not enough in these imports to warrant the expectation of a local market large enough anywhere in India to absorb all the sulphur separated in the copper-smelting on a scale that would pay. We had thus to develop the conditions necessary to create a market. The Forest Department have consequently brought out an expert to test the suitability of our woods for the manufacture of paper pulp by the use of sulphurous acid, and the Agricultural Department are making experiments to test the fertilizing value of ammonium sulphate, in the hope of retaining our now wasted products in coke-making, and of superphosphates, in the hope of retaining our supplies of bones and of importing

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mineral phosphates from the large deposits in the Indian Ocean islands.

Of the subjects of these experiments the one of most immediate importance is perhaps ammonium sulphate. About 300,000 tons of coal are converted every year into coke on the Bengal coalfields by a process which loses nitrogen enough to make ammonium sulphate worth 20 lakhs of rupees in the open market. As soon as this fact was brought to the notice of the owners of our collieries, enquiries were made as to the economical results of erecting bye-product recovery plant instead of the cheap open kilns now in use, and the East Indian Railway Company, acting on the advice of Mr. T. H. Ward of Giridih, have already commenced the erection of the necessary plant, intending, in the first instance, to use sulphuric acid manufactured from imported sulphur until the supplies lying idle in this country can be turned to account.

Some idea of the value of ammonium sulphate can be obtained from the way in which it is being used in Java and Mauritius. Nearly 30,000 tons of this fertilizer are now consumed every year on the sugar plantations of these two islands, and as one consequence they made India pay last year something like 4 crores of rupees for sugar which ought to have been grown in this country.

To show the value of recovering bye-products, one might quote instances by the hundred illustrating the way in which countries, relying solely on the reproductive value of a tropical climate, have had to give way gradually to the more cheaply made artificial products due to scientific developments in Europe. The case of sugar which I have already mentioned affords an illustration striking enough to us, as it affects a large industry in this country.

The beet-root sugar of France, Germany and Austria is sometimes referred to as an illustration of the value of a protective tariff and bounty in fostering an industry ; but there is little doubt that these influences have been microscopic compared to what has been done by scientific work, first, in the agricultural treatment of the beet, and second, in the processes of extracting the sugar. There was a time when the beet-root yielded less than 9 percent of sugar : roots now grown yield 16 to 18 percent. These facts illustrate the first lesson to be learnt by us in India where our agricultural products are left to natural selection and chemical fertilizers are practically unknown. The second advantage obtained by the beet-sugar refiner has been through the adoption of the best machinery in the processes of extraction, of chemical processes to obtain the last traces of crystallizable sugar from the molasses, and finally

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of converting the residue of evil-smelling waste products, formerly a general nuisance to be got rid of at a high cost, into valuable chemical products like salts of potash, ammonia and the ferrocyanides, which now contribute to the profits of the industry instead of being a loss. As one result of the application of science to sugar manufacture in Europe, Austria alone last year sent sugar to India to the value of 138 lakhs of rupees. When a country, with a temperate climate, can beat the manufacturers of a natural tropical product in their own climate, and at a distance of 5,000 miles, it is time for us to review our methods of work with critical faculties well alert. How many other Indian industries, depending solely on the advantages of natural conditions, are in danger of extermination by applied science in Europe ?

The trade of this country so far has been mainly a simple exchange of natural products peculiar to a tropical climate for artificial goods of European manufacture. Obviously, the outward half of this trade balance must suffer with the rapid development of science in Europe, enabling the manufacturer to turn out of his waste products the materials suitable to replace those growing luxuriously in India. To what extent the danger can be reduced in connection with vegetable products is beyond my province to judge ; but in questions relating to minerals, I think the conditions are rapidly ripening for the successful development of numerous products now obtained from Europe. The rapidly growing imports of metals, chemical and mineral products are daily maturing the conditions necessary for us to open up our mineral deposits with new methods ; the extension of railways and engineering works is increasing our requirements in iron and steel ; the utilization of electric power has created a demand for copper; the development of industries connected with paper, cotton, jute and agriculture is forming a market for chemical bye-products.

Metalliferous ores cannot generally be developed except on a scale sufficiently large to make the recovery of the smallest among these bye-products remunerative. When the European manufacturer, therefore, was once able to reach the Indian market by low freights, our native metallurgical and chemical industries naturally became exterminated, and must remain so without chance of revival until the variety and quantity of subsidiary products required in the country are sufficient to absorb the products of metallurgical works erected on a scale comparable to those now established in Europe. It is useless to start with methods and on a scale already superseded in the countries with whom we have trade conditions restricted only by

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existing freight rates. The individual worker in metallurgy or in most forms of mining must give way in the future to the company with limited individual risks. But we have the advantage of starting with the matured results of metallurgical evolution in Europe, and the conditions are now, or soon will be, ripe for the exploitations of some of the minerals hitherto left untouched.

To turn our opportunities to account, it is necessary, firstly, to disseminate the information we already possess, secondly, to obtain more precise information of local conditions by an increase in the number of those who possess the necessary technical and scientific knowledge, and, thirdly, to discover more enterprise on the part of those who can contribute to the necessary capital.

With regard to the first point, information is being distributed by publications issued by the Geological Survey Department as fast as suitable data are collected. Our *Records* are supplied to various libraries, societies, newspapers and individual subscribers ; all known mineral occurrences of value are represented by collections of specimens available to the public in the Calcutta Museum, and we are now engaged in the preparation of a Manual which will give a summary of everything that has ever been written about Indian minerals ; but we have still to look to Conferences of this kind to assist in the dissemination and thorough assimilation of the published reports.

The second condition must await the slow extension of secondary and technical education in India. It will be many years before there will be an effective proportion of the general population able to detect local occurrences of valuable minerals ; but the end in view may be somewhat hastened by a wider knowledge of the fact that the Geological Survey Department will willingly determine minerals free of charge for any amateur who is willing to give the precise locality from which each specimen is obtained, although we do not wish to assist those who, thinking they have discovered possible diamond mines and goldfields, prefer to keep their information secret in hopes of waylaying some innocent speculator.

The third condition is perhaps the most serious difficulty of the lot. Nearly every valuable mineral development in this country has been due to the enterprise of a few Europeans, the preliminary work of exploration no less than the subsequent risks of prospecting and working. As one consequence I could name many Europeans who have dropped the money they have made in other ways ; for few industrial enterprises involve more indeterminate risks than mining. As another consequence, where success has followed

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enterprise, the profits are leaving the country in the form of dividends instead of remaining here to contribute to the general wealth. A striking case is now developing in connection with the enterprises initiated by the late Mr. J. N. Tata, whose great name will be perpetuated by the Institute founded by his generosity to remove complaints like the second of the three that I have just named. As most people are aware, Mr. Tata for some years undertook the investigation of the many known iron-ore deposits in Central India with the hope of finding one under conditions suitable for the local manufacture of iron and steel. After his lamentable death, the work was taken up by his two sons, Messrs. D. J. and R. J. Tata, and after an expenditure of over three lakhs of rupees in the work of investigation, they have at last evolved a project which appears to contain the elements of a sound industrial venture. But Messrs. Tata and Sons have been compelled to go to England to raise the capital necessary to launch a project that ought to commend itself to every patriotic capitalist in this country. One would feel happier if there were more leaders of the kind of the Tata Brothers in India—men whose ventures, inspired by patriotic motives, are conducted with cautious regard to the business risks involved. I have been privileged to keep in touch with each stage of their most recent enterprise. Mr. J. N. Tata started with idea that some amongst the many occurrences of iron-ore reported by the Geological Survey must surely be suitable for exploitation, and consequently ought to be developed for the benefit of the country. The preliminary information with regard to actual occurrences seemed sufficient to warrant the expenditure necessary to test the most promising; and on these systematic prospecting operations were undertaken, no step in expenditure being ventured not warranted by the information derived from that already completed, until the investigations narrowed down to the thorough testing of the two ore-bodies determined to be the best by the more superficial preliminary tests. Being certain that ore of the right kind existed in sufficient quantity, they subjected the other raw materials necessary for flux and fuel to equally exhaustive tests, and finally selected as the centre of operations the point which gave the most favourable results in an equation involving (1) the cost of the three groups of raw materials of different quantities, (2) the market for iron, steel and bye-products accessible at various distances in counterbalancing the competition with imports and existing manufactures, and (3) the suitability of water supply and climate for the workers as well as the works. I have seen no mineral enterprise undertaken in this country in which the scientific method has been

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so completely adapted to business essentials, and Messrs Tata and Sons deserve the gratitude of everyone interested in the welfare of India.

The patriotic feelings of the late Mr. J. N. Tata formed merely the *inspiration* of the great project about to be launched ; if, however, the subsequent steps had not been undertaken with regard to financial results, one would have been justified in doubting either the sanity or the honesty of the promoters. The desire to see the country economically independent will not be accomplished by merely patriotic demonstrations against foreign goods. Their importation can be prevented only by the manufacture in this country of the same quality at lower rates or of better materials at the same price. To do this, enterprise is wanted more than self-sacrifice—enterprise on the part of students willing to take up technical subjects instead of law, philosophy and literature ; enterprise on the part of capitalists ready to invest intelligently in industries now taxed by borrowed capital.

It would be impossible in a short paper to indicate the many ways in which mineral developments are possible in India, and I doubt if any good would result in the publication of matured plans until there is a community sufficiently grounded in applied science, not only to turn the present opportunities to account, but to adapt itself to the changing industrial equation as science progresses elsewhere.

The Geological Survey can do no more than accumulate and publish for general information the raw materials which form the basis for a more thorough investigation of local problems. We have, for instance, recently announced the existence in various parts of India of ore similar to that used in Europe and America for the manufacture of aluminium. Before that ore can be turned to account, we want a cheap supply of alkali for the extraction of the alumina ; the manufacture of the alkali involves the simultaneous manufacture of bye-products for which a market must be found ; to convert the alumina into aluminium, we want a cheap source of power ; and finally a market for the metal turned out. To deal with this problem, we have thus to determine by systematic prospecting whether any one of the known occurrences of the ore contains the alumina in sufficient quantity to support works on a large scale, whether it is present in sufficient richness to permit of economical extraction, and whether the ore-body, when found to be suitable, is within range of the necessary power, the necessary materials required for its manufacture, and a market capable of absorbing the bye-products as well as the metal.

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The discovery of a valuable mineral is thus but the beginning of a long problem, necessitating the collaboration of a string of competent investigators. Our poverty is not in material, but in men capable of turning the natural material into the finished product. We want more than Government provision for technical scholarships : we want a reformation in the *tastes* of our students; we want them to learn that the man with technical dexterity is of more use to the country than the writer of editorials or the skilful cross-examiner ; that applied science now belongs to the highest caste of learning, and is a worthy field for the best ability we can obtain.

As far as our mineral resources are concerned, there is unlimited room for profitable enterprise : the country is sufficiently endowed by Nature, not only to meet its own requirements, but to take advantage of its central position for competing with others in the Indian Ocean markets ; but until we find the chemical, metallurgical and mechanical workshops as attractive to our high-caste students as the class-rooms for law and literature now are, the cry of *Swadeshi*, no matter how worthy the spirit it embodies, will remain but an empty word.

T. H. Holland

REVIEW OF BOOKS

FAMINES IN INDIA

[*The Causes of Famines in India*—By Rev. J. T. Sunderland, M. A., of Toronto, Canada].

Indian Famines are no longer the despair of publicists and authors and are now becoming fashionable in literature. Ten years ago, we had hardly any decent book on them, excepting of course the Report of the first Famine Commission of 1880. To-day we have nearly half-a-dozen of works treating of this subject from both the Indian and Anglo-Indian points of view.

The *brochure* under notice deals with the question from none of these stand-points in particular as it comes from America and confines itself to a dispassionate presentment of the subject. It is a very small pamphlet, but within its covers Rev. J. T. Sunderland puts in a world of informations, facts and statistics which make it by far and away the most handy book of reference on the subject that we have yet come across.

Mr. Sunderland plunges into his subject by combating at the outset with the theories of deficient rainfall and over-population. These theories have been exploded time and again in the Indian press and platform, particularly by students of Indian economics ; and Mr. Sunderland brings all the arguments together to show that they are very little responsible for the terrible calamities that pass in history and in contemporary records as 'famines' and which in a single decade carries away, according to *The Lancet*, 10,000,000 human beings from India, while, it has been ascertained, during the 107 years from 1793 to 1900 not more than *only half of that number* fell victims to wars in the whole world !

The failure of rains does *not* cause famines in India for, says Mr. Sunderland, "the year of the great Madras famine of 1877 was one with the enormous rainfall of 66 inches. In the year of the Orissa famine (1865-66) the rainfall was 60 inches. In the Bombay famine of 1876 the rainfall of the year was 50 inches. In the famine of 1896-97 in the Central Provinces, the record of the two years was 52 inches and 42 inches. In the great famine year, 1900, the average rainfall record in the parts of India where the famine was most severe was North-Western Provinces 32 inches. Punjab 18 inches, Central Provinces 52 inches, Central India 36 inches,

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Rajputana 20 inches, Berar 31 inches and Bombay 40 inches." When one remembers that the average annual rainfall in England is under 40 inches and all the more important agricultural districts in Scotland have about 30 inches only and that famines never take place in those countries, it will not do to lay the blame of the Indian famines at the door of deficient rainfall.

Nor would it do to say that in India population is outstripping agricultural possibilities, for, no matter how severe the drought may be in some parts, there is never a time when India as a whole does not produce food enough for all her teeming millions. The export of food-grains even in the worst famine years is proof conclusive of the plenty of India's produce. Only our people have not the wherewithal to buy them at the price at which they are sent out to foreign countries.

Indian famines are therefore due to no extraneous causes but are the results of the extreme poverty of our people. As has been very well put, they are "only the exceptional aggravation of a normal misery" It is a famine of money and not of food that makes the situation so hopeless in India.

This normal misery of the Indian people is the cause of the Indian famines and what is this normal misery owing to? Mr. Sunderland sets it to the following causes :—

(1) The people are deprived of the power of self-protection in the matter of trade, commerce and industries,

(2) Heavy taxation,

(3) A Government by foreigners,

(4) Heavy military expenditure,

(5) The destruction of indigenous manufactures, and

(6) The drain of wealth from India to Great Britain.

These causes operate to make destitution as hopeless in India as hopeless can be. With a drain variously estimated at between £25,000,000 and £30,000,000 a year and which has gone on since the days of Plassey, with all industries broken down and crippled, with a taxation three times as great according to their income as that of the people of England and four times as great as that of Scotland and with the whole country 'at the mercy of the stranger,' it is no wonder that the average annual income of the people of India has nearly touched bottom. The average annual income of the people England, taking Mulhall's estimate, is about 900s or 30 times that of the people of India. Says Mr. Sunderland : "the average expenditure on intoxicating drinks in Great Britain is about £4 per person, or two and a half times as much as the people of India

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have to expend upon food, drink, clothing, fuel for cooking and warmth, education, recreation, religion, medicine, everything necessary for a civilised existence ! Is it any wonder that the Indian peasant can lay up nothing for a time of need ? Is it any wonder that when his crops fail for a single season he finds nothing between himself and starvation ? ”

So far as the causes of Indian destitution. Mr. Sunderland seems to agree with most Indian writers on the subject that things are not looking up for the Indian. The ‘prosperity’ which is exhibited in trade returns and official statistics belong to the British—the British officer, the British planter, the British trader and merchant, the British speculator and exploiter—and the Indians have yet to do all the starving when the famine comes.

When one nation rules over another, the subject nation must go down both in prosperity and civilisation. As Macaulay said ‘the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger.’ And a ‘stranger’ has the British been to India with vengeance. England has deprived us of all share in the government of our country on the plea that she can govern us better than we can do it ourselves and that the art of self-government is unknown in the East. ‘A sufficient answer to this claim,’ says Mr. Sunderland, ‘would be found in the relative condition of Britain-ruled India and self-ruled Japan. When the British came on the scene India was the leader of Asiatic civilisation : she was far in advance of Japan. Time has passed. India has been ruled by a foreign power : Japan has governed herself and shaped her own development. What has been the result ? Which country now is in the advance ? India or Japan ? ’

Truly did Edmund Burke observe 120 years ago : “The Tartar invasion (of India) was mischievous : but our protection destroys India.”

The case of India must not be considered very singular, for in the whole range of history we do not meet with any instance of a nation thriving or flourishing under the rule of another. Foreign domination is prejudicial to national growth as well as prosperity, and it would be vain to ransack the historical literature of the world to find an exception to this rule. Were England wise, she should have treated India not as a vassal Empire whose inhabitants were to be looked down upon as only hewers of wood and drawers of water but as a self-governing and self-respecting unit of a progressive confederacy. But she apparently has not profited by the lessons of the past and still hopes to avoid the nemesis. The present has no different picture to show than the past and Mr. Sunderland draws

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attention to that fact. "We denounce ancient Rome for impoverishing Gaul and Egypt, and Sicily and Palestine and her other conquered provinces by draining away their wealth to enrich herself. We denounce Spain for robbing the New World in the same way. But England is doing exactly the same thing in India, only she is doing it skilfully, adroitly, by "enlightened" modes of procedure, under business and judicial forms, and with so many professions of "governing India for her advantage and enriching her by civilised methods" that the world has been largely blinded and she herself is largely blinded to what is really going on. But probe down through the surface of fine words and legal forms to what lies below and we have the same hideous business that Rome and Spain were engaged in so long and for which in the end they paid so dear. Called by its right name, what is it? It is national parasitism. It is one nation living on another."

This 'parasitism' cannot go on indefinitely. If England must avert the doom, she must lift India to her side, educate her children, push forward irrigation with greater vigour, bring the vast area of waste lands into use by drainage or otherwise, fill fewer offices with Europeans and more with Indians and last, though not the least, take measures to improve agriculture and to build up again the ruined manufacturing industry of the country. These are some of Mr. Sunderland's remedies for Indian poverty and there is hardly any man in all this country who would not endorse them heartily and press them upon the attention of the powers that be.

P. C. R.

INDIAN POETRY

[*Indian Poetry : Selections Rendered into English Verse*—By ROMES CHANDRA DUTT, C.I.E.]

Mr. Romes Dutt has appeared before the public in various roles but in none has he shone in better light or to greater advantage than as the interpreter of the life and civilisation of ancient India to the English-speaking world of to-day. His account of this country before the Muhammedan period and his translations of our great national epics are considered as valued treasures wherever the English language is spoken and read and, long after his economic studies of the Victorian age are forgotten, the English renderings of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharatu* will carry his name forward to distant generations of men.

REVIEW OF BOOKS

Mr. Romes Dutt has laid the reading public under fresh obligations by the re-issue of his selections of Indian poetry in a convenient size. This book contains representative poems of the different periods of Indian history from the days of the Rig Veda down to the time of Kalidasa ; and though the majestic flow of words and the sonorous periods of the originals have been lost in the rendering, the atmosphere of idealism and simplicity have been faithfully preserved. We have some of the noblest and most imaginative hymns of the Rig-Veda to begin with—hymns addressed to such noble gods as Indra, Varuna, Agni, Ushas, Pushan and Savitri. These are followed by some of the more well-known passages from the Upanishadas dealing with the legends of Maitreyi, Gargi, Satyakama and others. From the Buddhist literature we have the stories of Buddha's life, death and precepts, and Asoka's message to his people and to foreign nations and the legend of Muktalata. A free rendering of the Bridal of Uma from Kalidasa and of the Penance of Arjun from Bharavi bring the book to a close.

There is a refreshing simplicity in the conception of the Vedic gods—there being nothing of the hideousness and mystery of the Tantric mythology about them. Of Indra, one of the hymns say :

“ His the kine and steeds of war
Village home and battle car ;
His right arm uplifts the sun,
Opes the ruddy gates of dawn ;
His red bolt the dark cloud rends,
Grateful showers for mortals sends.”

So also we read of the other gods—the gods of fire and rain, the gods of pasture and agriculture and others—everyone for the time being the supreme deity of the universe. What an advance from such primitive ideas to the following conception of the godhead or the Universal Soul in the *Upanishads* :—

“ 'Tis the uncreate IMMORTAL,
Viewless,—fills the world so broad,
Flameless,—burns not like the red fire,
Moveless,—sweeps not like the flood !
Without shadow, without darkness,
He is neither air nor sky,
Void of taste and touch and feeling
He subsists sublime and high !
Without hearing—hears all nature,
Views creation—void of sight,

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Void of limbs—but ever acting,
Void of firm—but Infinite !”
Or “ All this Universe is Brahma,—
All that live and move and die,—
Born in Him, in Him subsisting,
Ending in that Being High.
He is life and highest knowledge,
He is Truth and holy Sight,
And his soul the world pervadeth
But like ether 'scapes our sight.
From him every deed and action
Every wish and impulse spring
Calm and conscious, never speaking
He embraceth everything.”

And these conceptions of the great God were formed at least 1000 years before Christ was born and before Rome and Greece had emerged from barbarism.

Not only did the Indian mind conceive the highest abstractions of the metaphysical world 3000 years ago, but also promulgated a code of morals, 500 years before Jesus Christ appeared at Jerusalem, which has not been improved upon by any subsequent prophet or teacher. Gathering a large number of his disciples in the deer forest at Sarnath near Benares, the great Teacher of India thus enunciated the ethics of man :—

“ Dost thou shrink from death and suffering,
Dost thou cling to life from birth ?
So doth every brother-creature,—
Harm not living things on earth.
Unto those who live in hatred
Thou shalt bear unchanging love,
Unto those who smite in anger
Thou shalt thy forgiveness prove.
By your Love the wrathful conquer,
By your Grace the ill pursue,
By your Charity the miser,
By your Truth the false subdue.”

A more inspiring code of morality the world has not known and no man has conceived. It is not only the goodwill towards men but the brotherhood of all living beings that carries the Buddhist ideal of morality much beyond the highest Christian conception of man's moral obligations.

The remaining part of the book under review contains some

descriptive and imaginative pieces of the highest flight from the works of Kalidasa and Bharavi—two poets of the Indian middle ages—and their rendering into English verse reflects great credit upon Mr. Dutt.

As an example of how far the beauty and force of the original Sanskrit has been preserved in the cunning rendering of Mr. Dutt and also to show the spirit which the Hindu woman had developed 20 centuries before the historic *johurs* at Chitore, we shall extract two passages from this book. King Yudisthira had lost his kingdom at a game of dice and retired into forests with his wife and brothers. On a certain occasion a forester came to their camp and gave a glowing account of the administration of the man who was then occupying Yudisthira's throne. This proved too much for Draupadi, the wife of Yudisthira, and she immediately counselled war to recover the lost kingdom. Her remonstrance is one of the most cherished episodes in the *Mahabharata* and has formed the theme of several brilliant pieces of poetry in Sanskrit. The one by Bharavi has been translated in this book wherein we find Draupadi taking her husband severely to task for his remissness of duty :

“ Conquer back thy glory,
 Vengeful schemes devise,
 Anchorites, not heroes,
 Meek forbearance prize.
 For if kings and chieftains
 Bore their insults tame,
 Lost were worth of warriors
 Lost were monarch's fame !
 Or if patient suffering
 Still for thee hath charms,
 Prate thy hymns like hermits,
 Leave these kingly arms !
 But a higher duty
 Fits thy royal fame,
 Break this plighted treaty,—
 Treaty of our shame.
 Monarchs bent on conquests
 Fasten on their foe
 Blame for breach of treaty,—
 Blame for war and woe.
 Pale from loss of glory,
 Weak from loss of might,
 Rise like sun in splendour,—
 Quell this darksome night ! ”

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"Sole restorer of our glory,
Now, alas, in darkness lost,
Let thy manly heart and purpose
By no saddening thought be crost ;
For in quest of fame and glory,
And of deeds which records fill,
Fortune ever leans to heroes
Labouring with a dauntless will !
Kings in glory rule the wide earth,
Conquering foemen in the strife,
We have lost that kingly glory
Dear to warrior as his life,
Till the chiefs of distant regions
Doubting heard our tale of shame,
Staining all our former valour
And our world-embracing fame !
Tale of shame which dims our future,
Hides each deed of valour done,
As the shadow of the evening
Hides the glimmers of the sun,—
Tale of wrong and bitter insult
Rankling like a cruel smart,
And the thought of pain will freshen
When, O Arjun, thou shalt part !
Like a wounded forest-monarch
Changed thou art, thy glory faded,
Void of pride and pomp and prowess
Like the day by darkness shaded ;
And the arms that once bedecked thee
Long unused have lost their gleam,
Form of pride hath changed and withered,
Like the summer's dwindled stream !"

We are afraid our notice of this book has already become too long and here must we now stop. The book is embellished with a beautiful steel portrait of Saraswati, the goddess of learning and the muses in general but wrongly described by Mr. Dutt as merely the goddess of poetry.

The first portion of this book might with great advantage be made a text-book of religious and moral instruction in the higher forms of all our secular schools and a more inspiring and soul-elevating work could hardly be placed in the hands of our young men for the regulation of their conduct and morals.

P. C. R.

A LIST OF IMPORTANT BOOKS, PAMPHLETS & REPORTS ON INDIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Books by Englishman

The Petition of the East India Company to Parliament with a Memorandum for the Improvement of the Government of India—By John Stuart Mill (1857).

British India and Its Rulers—By Sir Henry Cunningham (1882).

The Finances and Public Works of India—By Sir John Strachey and Lient-General Richard strachey (1882).

India: the Land and the People—By Sir James Caird, K.C.B., F.R.S. (1883).

* The Expansion of England—By Sir John Seeley (1886).

* The Problems of Greater Britain—By Sir Charles Dilke, Bt. (1890).

British Work in India—By Mr. Carstairs (1891).

Indian Polity—By Sir George Chesney, K.C.B. (3rd Edition, 1894).

The Government of India—By Sir Courtney Ilbert, K.C.S.I. (1898).

"Prosperous" British India—By Mr. Wm. Digby, C.I.E. (1901).

Indian Coinage and Currency—By Mr. L. C. Probyn.

India: Its Administration and Progress—By Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I. (3rd Ed. 1903).

India of The Queen—By Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I. (1903).

New India—By Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I. (1903).

Books by Indians

Poverty and Un-British Rule in India—By Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (1901).

* These books are not devoted exclusively to India but contain some very masterly and illuminating expositions of the data and principles of Indian Nationality and of the various phases of Indian Administration respectively.
Ed., I. W.

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Indian Economics—By Mr. M. G. Ranade.

England and India

Indian Famines

Economic History of India

India in the Victorian Age

} By Mr. Romes Ch. Dutt,

C.I.E.

Economic Notes—By Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer.

The Poverty Problem in India

Indian Famines

} By Mr. Prithwis Ch. Ray

Pamphlets and Reports, &c.

Old Man's Hope

Star in the East

} By Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B.

The Indian National Congress : its Aims and Justification—By Mr. Robert Knight.

Some Plain Truths about India—By Sir Richard Garth.

Democracy not Suited to India—By Rajah Oday Pertap Singh of Bhinga.

Notes on Some Questions of Administration in India—By Mr. Guruprasad Sen.

The Map of India from the Buddhist to the British Period—By Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray.

Indian Sketches—By Mr. Sishir Kumar Ghose.

India for the Indians

Story of an Indian Reform

Bill in Parliament

Indian Problems for

English Consideration

} By Mr. William Digby.

The Reorganisation of District Civil Service in India

The Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in British India

The Case Against the Break-up of Bengal

Edited by
Mr. Prithwis Ch. Ray.

The Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses Before the Welby Commission (A Congress Green-Book).

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (A Congress Green-Book).

The Great Famine and Its Causes—By Mr. Vaughan Nash (1900).

BOOKS ON INDIAN POLITICS & ECONOMICS

The Financial Statements of the Government of India (1860-1905).

The Speeches on the Financial Statements of the Government of India—By the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. (1902-5).

Failure of Lord Curzon—By Mr C. J. O'Donnell.

Indian Poverty and Indian Famines—By Major Philip B. Phipson (1903).

Indian Land Revenue Policy—(A Government of India Resolution : 1902).

Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs in their Relation to India (A Government of India Despatch : 1904).

Report of The Army Commission of 1879.

Reports of The Famine Commissions of 1880, 1898 and 1901.

Report of The Indian Public Service Commission of 1886.

Report of The Herschell Committee (1892).

Report of The Indian Currency Committee (1898).

Report of The Welby Commission.

Reports of The Indian National Congress (1885-1904).

Journals of The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

Indian Politics—Edited by Mr. G. A. Natesan.

India in England—(Edited by Pandit Bishen Naryen Dar, 3 Vols).

India (1890-92)—Edited by Mr. William Digby, C.I.E.

India (1892-1905) The organ of the Indian National Congress published in London [First a monthly, then a fortnightly and now a weekly publication].

Moral and Material Progress of India (A Parliamentary Annual Blue-Book).

The Statistical Atlas of India (1895).

Constable's Hand-Atlas of India.

Speeches of Henry Fawcett, John Bright and Charles Bradlaugh on the one side and of Lord Lytton, Lord Dufferin, Lord Randolph Churchill and of Lord Curzon on the other.

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

THE DEATH OF SIVAJI

The above article contributed to the October number of the *Calcutta Review* contains much historical information and is clothed in a language not below the dignity of the magazine in which it has appeared. It begins by describing Sivaji as one whose career was unexampled for daring and success and who, even in the palmy days of the Moghul Empire, succeeded in dealing it a blow which it was ill able to stand. But the article mainly concerns itself with the disputatious accounts of different writers respecting the death of Sivaji. Of the historians who have recorded the death of Sivaji, the *bakhar* writer, Chisnaji Anant Sabhasad, is mentioned first. He was a courtier of Rajaram, Sivaji's son. According to him, when Shambhuji returned to Panhala after his unsuccessful overtures to Aurangzeb and was reconciled to his father, Sivaji left that place for Raighad in order to celebrate there the marriage ceremony of Rajaram. Soon after, the King was attacked with fever. Sivaji, being a righteous man, possessed "foreknowledge of the time of his dissolution." He thought within himself that his end was approaching and therefore summoned before him the wisest of his Karkuns and servants. He predicted to them that after his death Shambhuji would usurp everything to himself and eventually should lose all by reason of his dissolute habits. In respect of Rajaram, the dying monarch is reported to have expressed himself favourably. The able writer of the article, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, suggests that the speech containing the prophecy was composed by Sabhasad himself; but that the sentiments put in the mouth of Sivaji are historically true and correct. With reference to this particular point, Mr. Karkaria finds a strange parallel in Thucydides and Livy who were in the habit of composing speeches for their heroes. The dying words of this brave Marhatta hero are reported by Sabhasad to have been the following:—"Grieve not; this is but a mortal world. As many as are born perish. Calm your feeling, be of pure hearts be peaceful and happy" The next important chronicle is Rairy *bukhar*. Of European historians recording the life of Sivaji, two names are mentioned. They are Manucci and Fryer. Manucci and Fryer were in India at the time of Sivaji's death. The former was

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

in the service of the Emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb as a physician, the latter a physician by profession who resided in India from 1674 to 1682. The death of Sivaji is attributed to poison by the Mahratta Mss and another authority says that it was caused by the curses of a Mahomedan saint who had been insulted by Sivaji's soldiers. All others describe it as a natural death. As to the date on which it occurred, almost all authorities agree that it was the 5th of April 1680. The two contemporary European writers above noted give wrong dates in their otherwise excellent accounts. The article closes by referring to a few awful events that took place when Sivaji died—an earthquake, the falling off of stars, the appearance of a comet, and a pair of rainbows at night in the firmament. Mr. Karkaria is not disposed to set this down to Oriental credulity and brush it aside as a pardonable untruth. He says that extraordinary phenomena are often associated with great events in the lives of great men, their birth, accession and death ; and he corroborates his statement by mentioning a few striking events linked with the memorable dates in the life and reign of Queen Victoria.

COTTON CULTIVATION IN INDIA

The article entitled " Cotton Cultivation in India " contributed to the November issue of the *Indian Review* by Mr. R. V. Tikekar is rich with information and suggestions. It first of all mentions the complete *crisis* of cotton brought about in England by the *cornering* of cotton in America by reckless speculators and the ever-increasing consumption of the commodity where it is grown and the keen competition in the spinning and weaving mill industry. England has a big capital of three hundred crores of rupees and more invested in the cotton spinning and weaving industry and yet it cannot and does not produce any cotton at all—all the stuff comes from abroad ! India used to export her cotton to England at cheap rates. But the master-spinners of Manchester have had to be disappointed as Indian spinning and weaving mills now consume the India-grown cotton at an increasing rate. The article then makes mention of a memorial sent to H. E. Lord Curzon last year by the British cotton-growers of Manchester. It requested the Government of India to make special efforts for improving the cultivation of cotton in quality and quantity. The Government of India also expressed their desire, in a circular letter issued to all the Provincial Governments, to foster the development and extension of

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cotton cultivation in India and the Board of Agriculture which met in Pusa discussed the subject. The writer next deplors the deterioration of the commodity in its cultivation and observes that the production of the raw material is far too short of the consumption and that the area under cultivation deteriorates year after year. To this deterioration he assigns the following causes :

I. That there were three famines during the last five years and seven bad seasons in the last ten years. Famines and bad seasons force the farmer—the ryot—to depend more on food crops and to cultivate that crop only which can give a ready food and fodder to himself and his cattle. The cotton crop requires a long waiting to enable him and his cattle to get food and fodder. The food crops, even when raw, give him some ready food which the cotton crop is unable to do.

II. The ryot—the farmer—is, as a rule, short of food and fodder just after the harvest is over, and the facilities that were available for getting a loan of food grains and fodder to live each day being totally removed, he is forced to maintain himself and his stock and milch cattle on the raw herbage that he can grow. The cotton crop does not help him in any way to a living, before the commodity is ripe and sold.

III. Most of the holdings pass away into the hands of the village sowcar for whom he has to till the land. The sowcar the Kumbi wishes, desires and intends to swindle, to cheat and to rob, and thus take a foolish and feminine revenge. Stealthily the Kumbi wishes to feed on the raw crop of the sowcar, which he can do well when he sows food crops and not cotton. The ryot is quite unable to maintain himself and can not, therefore, like and prefer to depend on cotton crop which is so late.

The following methods are then suggested which may prove helpful to the cultivator :—

(a) In getting easy and cheap loans of food and fodder ; (b) Pedigree seeds for sowing ; (c) Advances to satisfy the Government demand of the land revenue ; (d) And draught cattle to enable him (the cultivator) to cultivate the land.

The article winds up by suggesting the diffusion of agricultural knowledge and information among the illiterate agriculturists by the village accountant, the village school master, the village merchant and the banker and the formation of District and local indigenous societies, associations and firms for the improvement of cotton cultivation.

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

LORD CURZON

I

A criticism of Lord Curzon's administration appears in the November number of the *Indian Review* from the pen of an Ex-President of the National Congress. The Ex-President says that Lord Curzon departed the shores of India "unwept, un-honoured, and unsung." Those who did him reverence were his unqualified panegyrists, "the men who had blinded their eyes and stuffed their ears with cotton all the time that there was going on a most unequal and deplorable struggle between the people, the educated classes specially, on the one side and the unbridled and irresponsible autocrat on the other." The writer then sees a remarkable coincidence between the emancipation of Russia from autocracy and the departure of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon has been characterised as one utterly without modesty and blowing his own trumpet. "He carried about him," says the writer, "throughout his Viceregal career the impetuosity of the boy at Eton and all the insobriety and immaturity which accompany youth. The fact is, he was an unbroken colt. He had little of administrative training beyond the two years of Under-Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs." He is next pointed out as one bent upon realising "the Alnaschar notion of the future Imperial Government of India." "He conjured himself," the article continues "as an autocrat ruling a larger population than that of the Czar of all the Russias. He pictured to himself as one who blended a Tiberius and Suliman the Magnificent into one."

II

The *Calcutta Review* of the month of October publishes an article on Lord Curzon. The writer is Mr. R. P. Karkaria, who has contributed to the same issue an article on the death of Sivaji. Mr. Karkaria commences by observing that it would be harder to find another ruler who combines in himself all those qualities, mental and moral, which Lord Curzon brought to bear on the difficult task of governing a vast country like India, and that it is no disrespect to Lord Minto to say that he does not possess the genius with which his predecessor was gifted. The main purpose of this article is to applaud the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and therefore, the writer, supports in duty bound every administrative measure of Lord Curzon. The writer asserts that those who affect to see in Lord Curzon's resignation nothing but personal pique and resentment of the tactless conduct of Brodrick do gross injustice to him and show

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a strange want of knowledge of his character. Sense of duty, according to this writer, was Lord Curzon's strongest point. The article supports the Thibet expedition, the Universities' Act and passes some scathing and unjust remarks on the leading men of India.

III

A second article on Lord Curzon in the *Calcutta Review* of October comes from the pen of Mr. J. M. Macdonald. The article is a fair one and aims at pointing out some of the good features of the character which the late Viceroy actually possessed. It strives to show that Lord Curzon attempted to rule India by the doctrine laid down in the *Pax Britannica* of 1858 by Queen Victoria and illustrates the point by alluding to the causes for which every Army man dislikes him. They are the following :—(a) The IXth Lancers' Case. (b) Shooting passes. (a) In the matter of the punishment of the IXth Lancers a punkha coolie had been murdered. "The fact is that, with the exception of the Covenanted Civilians," the article says, "nearly every white man gets angry at times with a tricky or insolent native, and thrashes him. Baron Curzon's simple exposition of the majesty of the *Pax Britannica*, therefore, enrages us all, although we know that he is, superhumanly, quite right." Lord Curzon is further represented as an adherent to the simple commonsense policy of endeavouring to create contented, peaceful frontier tribes, and contented buffer states between us and Russia. The writer says that he does not understand the Thibet Expedition and passes it by and puts in a kind word on behalf of the Police Commission.

GLEAMS OF HOPE

Gleams of Hope appear in the *Hindustan Review* of December last over the name of Sir Henry Cotton. Sir Henry Cotton draws in the beginning his readers' attention to the successful character of the Indian National Congress which was held in Bombay last year, and states that the attention of the British public has of late been attracted to the proceedings of this huge gathering by reason of some memorable incidents. Dwelling at length upon the circumstances which necessitated Lord Curzon's resignation, this well-known champion of Indian rights and liberties proceeds to encourage the Indians in the following terms :—....."Be patient, but persevere and be of good heart! You have passed through a long period of reaction which is now drawing to a close. You have made during that period unprecedented progress

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES

of which you are yourselves almost unconscious.....
But you have difficulties to overcome, dangers to surmount and pitfalls to avoid ; you are not advancing along a simple and an easy path ; your weakness is within ; some among you are easily discouraged : some, it may be, are wanting in the qualities of organisation and persistence. But you are not deficient in a spirit of self-sacrifice when the occasion arises for its exercise. If ever the occasion has arisen it is now. Your future is in your hands, but you cannot attain the goal without great and continuons effort.....Never lose sight of the high ideals which you have held out to yourselves of India's destiny."

SELECTIONS

MR. E. B. HAVELL ON "THE USES OF ART"

The vitalising influence in true national culture is the artistic sense, and there must be something fundamentally unsound in the University system which leads the educated classes to prefer the tawdry commercialism which generally represents European art in India to the real art of their own country, and, instead of broadening the basis of culture ; drives the artists of the country to seek employment in office clerkship. A system of education which excludes both art and religion can never succeed because it shuts out the two great influences which mould the national character. There are obvious reasons why a State-aided University cannot identify itself with religious teaching but art is neutral ground upon which creeds and schools of thought can meet. Until educationists in India recognise that the artistic sense is as necessary in training of men of letters, of scientists, as it is in that of artists, no reforms in mere methods of teaching or examination systems will place higher education on the right road. When Greece was conquered by Rome, Greek art and Greek culture were transplanted to Italy, where they grew and flourished exceedingly for many centuries afterwards. When the Moguls conquered Hindustan Indian art commenced one of its most glorious epochs. Why is it that in spite of our honest endeavours to improve Indian art we have only succeeded in bringing bad European art to India and bad Indian art to Europe? You will find the answer in those two wonderful ruined cities of Italy and Northern India—Pompeii and Futehpur Sikri. In Pompeii you will see Greek art in the forum, in the streets, in the shops, in the frescoes, on the walls of the villas, in the furniture and even in the cooking pots which are left in the fireplaces. At Futehpur Sikri you will see Indian art in Akbar's palace, in his office, in his baths and in his stables, in all the public buildings and in the houses of his nobles. Everywhere in Pompeii and in Futehpur Sikri you will find art brought into practical use.

One of the most important of the civic and domestic uses of art in all countries is to provide houses for the people to live in and public buildings in which to conduct the affairs of State. From the latter of these uses Indian art has been almost completely excluded

in modern times and Indian builders have been taught to imitate the modern eclectic styles of Europe in the belief that these only are suitable for modern practical requirements. It would be most extraordinary if the hereditary builders of India, who for untold centuries have kept alive the traditions of their art, and adapted them time after time to the changes of fashion which one conquering race after another has brought into India, should now be found really incapable of meeting the very elementary practical requirements of modern public and private buildings. I venture to say that there is not a single modern building in India the construction of which present engineering difficulties at all to be compared with those which have been successfully met by Indian builders in former times. Stability and durability are surely essentials of a practical kind in public buildings, places of worship and other architectural work of a governing race which has faith in the greatness of its mission and in the permanence of its rule. In these respects it can hardly be disputed that Indian builders, who have been true to their old traditions, have always worked on sounder principles than those which have been observed in modern Anglo-Indian architecture. The great monuments of Hindu and Muhammadan rule all over India, which have stood for centuries neglected and exposed to all the fierce destructive influences of the Indian climate, the iconoclasm of the invaders, and the vandalism of philistines, are incontrovertible evidence of the fact. Fergusson, the greatest authority on Indian architecture, ancient and modern, gives an instance of the constructive skill and fine workmanship of Indian builders directed by their own architects. The terraced roof of the great mosque at Kalburgah, one of the finest monuments of Pathan rule in the Deccan, covering the area of 38, 000 square feet was in his time in seemingly good repair after four centuries of comparative neglect, although any crack or settlement would have been fatal to the whole building. I think it would be difficult to find any large modern public building without cracks, leaks or settlements and most of them would be ruins before many years of the neglect to which the majority of Indian buildings have been exposed for centuries.

In the more difficult problems of roof-construction Indian architects have far surpassed all Europeans. The Bijapur architects invented the ingenious and beautiful method of balancing the weight of a dome inside the building, instead of the more clumsy and ugly expedient of throwing it outside. The most remarkable example of this, the dome of the tomb of Mahmud at Bijapur, is larger than the famous masterpiece of Roman architecture, the Pantheon at Rome.

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Fergusson has described it as a wonder of constructive skill. The same authority in speaking of one of the finest churches in London by the great English architect, Sir Christopher Wren, says :—"It would have been greatly improved had its resemblance to a Hindu porch been more complete. The necessity of confining the dome and aisles within four walls greatly injures the effect compared with the Indian examples. Even the Indian plan of roofing might be used in such a building with much less expense and constructive danger than in a Gothic vault of the same extent."

The descendants of the architects who showed such remarkable constructive invention and skill still practise their art in Rajputana, the Punjab and in the United Provinces, and are only prevented from rivalling the great achievements of their ancestors because they are allowed no opportunity of doing so, except in a few of the Native States, in which the blind imitation of debased European art has not yet become fashionable. Fergusson admitted that he had learnt more from these men of the principles of architecture as practised by the great architects of mediaeval Europe than he had gained from all the books he had read. Yet these are the men who are ignored by the Indian Universities, and neglected by their own countrymen, because they are supposed to be deficient in practical knowledge.

It will not be necessary to quote more instances of the kind if you will only reflect that a living traditional art is always essentially a common-sense art, because it is created by popular needs and adapted to the country which produces it. You would then realise the wrong you do to Indian art and yourselves by following imported fashions, which even if they truly represented the best European culture and civilisation, can never be really adapted to your requirements. These fashions do not in fact represent the best that Europe can produce but only an effete and corrupt classicism now gradually being superseded by stronger and healthier art-impulses. The architecture which India is substituting for its own living styles is the very negation of common sense. It is what Fergusson calls "an art which is not conducted on truthful or constructive principles but on imitative attempts to reproduce something which has no affinity with the building in hand—an art whose utterances, whether classic or Gothic, are the products of the leisure of single minds, not always of the highest class." While your own living Indian art is "the result of the earnest thinking of thousands of minds, spread over hundreds of years, and acting in unison with the national voice which called it into existence."

SELECTIONS

If there are any students of engineering among the members of this Society, I would advise them that they will become better engineers the more they study art, and especially the more they study the art shown in Indian architecture. But let their art be in their engineering and not something outside of it. Most of the modern buildings in India would be better if they were divested of the ornamentation which has been applied in the belief that art begins and ends with ornament. I would ask them above all to remember Fergusson's dictum that architecture is not archæology. Certainly it is a great thing that all Indians should learn to love and venerate the great monuments of their forefathers, but it is of greater—far greater—moment that they should strive to hand on to their children's children those traditions which bring into the living present India's history, her culture and her art. Greatly as I venerate the splendid achievements of Indian art in bygone days, I would see without a pang the Taj, the palaces of the Moguls and the other great relics of antiquity crumbling into dust, if by their ruin India could be brought to realise the priceless value of the true living art which is part of India's spiritual heritage from her glorious past.

I will pass over another of the important uses of art, that of providing clothes for the people to wear, because in the first place, it is a subject on which my views are already very well known, and secondly, because though from an artistic point of view it is most desirable that you should retain your own artistic dress, it is of much more importance that you should learn to live and think artistically. Eleven years ago Sir Alexander Miller, formerly Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, in addressing this Society on Representative Government reminded you that in the endeavour to reach the blessings of good government national character is of infinitely greater importance than any institutions, representative or otherwise. The most important of the uses of art, of a real living art, is its influence on national character. You will see it in the character of that great nation, the Japanese. What do you think inspired the magnanimity, humanity, devotion, and self-control which they have shown in this great crisis of their history, but the innate and supreme artistic sense of the people? I will give you an instance of the true artistic spirit which may be found also in India in the present day. Not so far from Calcutta, at Jajpur, the ancient capital of Orissa, the splendid art of stone carving which flourished there in former days still lingers in obscurity. For the last 20 or 30 years, a few of your real Indian artists have been devotedly working on a pittance of four annas a day carving decoration more beautiful than any to be found

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in this city of palaces for the temple of Biroja in that town. Their wages are paid by a Sadhu, a religious mendicant, who has spent his whole life in begging for funds for this purpose. That is the spirit in which all true art is produced. It is the spirit with which the glorious Gothic Cathedrals of mediæval Europe were built. It is the moving spirit in everything great and noble that ever art creates. (Extracts from a Paper read before a meeting of The Chaitanya Library.)

INDIAN UNIVERSITY PROBLEMS

Mr. H. R. James, Member of the Senate of the University of Calcutta, contributes the following article to the latest number of the *University Review* :—

It is interesting, and to educationists in India encouraging, to see how extraordinarily alike are the university problems in England and in India. I think it very much to our credit that we have arrived in India—mainly on our own lines at an almost identical position in regard to all the great topics that are now being so keenly discussed in England. We have been busy for three years now with the reforms of university education, and some of us have been maintaining, as does Mr. P. J. Hartog in *The University Review* (Vol 1 pp. 299, 300), that university reform cannot be very effective unless secondary education is gaeatly improved. It may be said, in this connection, however, that at present secondary education is in a far worse state in India than in the British Isles. Again we have for a long time past been appealing for more common sense in the conduct of examinations, and asking for the strict testing of essentials on practically the same grounds as Mr. Hartog, and we are fighting the same fight over percentages (*University Review*, pp. 302, 303). One voice at least has even been raised for the limitation of the jurisdiction of examination tests in agreement with, and partly under the inspiration of Professor Schuster, whose scheme was outlined in the first number of *University Review*. I shall endeavour to show in this paper that educational problems in India, and especially those of Indian universities, are well deserving of consideration by the British university public.

To begin with, on the ground of sheer numbers. There are now five Indian universities on the European model, namely, those of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. Calcutta numbers forty-four affiliated colleges with over eight thousand students under instruction, Madras counts forty colleges and nearly four thousand pupils, Bombay ten colleges and two

thousand students, the Punjab twelve colleges and over twelve hundred students, the United Provinces twenty-six colleges, fifteen hundred students or, in all, one hundred and thirty-two institutions and some seventeen thousand students under instruction.

As regards the type of education, it has been lamentably deficient in the past. All the worst faults of the examination system have been carefully nursed and cultivated, and have taken peculiar and extreme forms under the influence of the mnemonic genius of the East. The Universities' Commission of 1902 and the Universities' Act which followed it have been specially contrived to cope with these faults. New governing bodies under the Act of 1904 were inaugurated in the autumn of last year, and committees have been busy with the work of reform since the early months of 1905. It is the older universities (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras) which needed reform most badly, and some hold that it was a mistake to include all the universities together indiscriminately in the sweep of the Universities' Act. It may further be claimed that the main initiative in reform has come from professed educationists—not least from those employed in Government colleges and technically forming an Indian Educational Service. The evidence for this lies buried in newspaper articles, in indigenous periodical literature, and other obscure places, but it is there ready to be brought forth when the history of the present educational movement comes to be written. That there is an educational movement of the deepest significance and highest potency, it is one of the objects of this paper to show. The formal initiative to the whole movement in its practical phase was undoubtedly given by Lord Curzon, and Indian education owes to him a deep and permanent debt of gratitude. It is a grave misfortune that extraneous circumstances have prevented him from finishing his extended term of office in India, and so seeing educational reform firmly settled on its course.

Educationists, who are not inaccessible to new ideas and who are influenced by the stir and movement of the times, labour under serious disadvantages in India. There is little or no educated public to whom they can appeal. The mass of their fellow-countrymen are entirely out of sympathy with the hopes and ideals of education for the peoples of India. The official world as a whole is only doubtfully favourable. There is much lip-service to the ends of education. To play with educational ideas, to patronize educational workers, and to receive incense from admiring audiences of school-boys and school-masters, is too exclusively the role of those clothed with authority. Education is to be smiled upon,

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but its real meaning and difficulties are ill-understood. An instructive example in this kind is the intention, probably by this time accomplished, to place a member of the Indian Civil Service as Director of Public Instruction at the head of education in Bengal instead of, as has hitherto been the invariable custom, a member of the educational service. Last and worst, the educationist who takes his work seriously cannot count on the support of such educated Indian public opinion as exists. The publication of the report of the Universities' Commission in 1902 revealed how firmly bound were the great majority of Indian teachers and thinkers to the worst faults of the system in vogue. The opposition was clamorous and bitter, and fastened on points of quite secondary importance, and it was at the time partly effective. But the two years which followed have shown that Indian educated opinion is also teachable, and without doubt that way lies salvation.

The immense importance of the whole question lies in the fact that all worthy hopes for the future of the Indian Empire turn upon education. The questions of industrial progress, of social reform, of national loyalty—all questions involving the gravest issues—are all bound up with the problem of giving right education, and for the time being the problem of right university education is the supreme problem.

What we ask, and what sincere educationists in India have, I think, the right to claim, is intelligent sympathy from their elder brethren at British universities engaged in (possibly) higher forms of the same work and wrestling with kindred problems. We need that more should be known about Indian educational questions, and especially there is wanted a general recognition of how great and important the work in India is. Further, the question has this quite practical interest for the British universities. Recruits for the work of Indian education come chiefly from Oxford and Cambridge, Dublin and Edinburgh and London. They will also probably come from the new English universities. The state of university education in India, the conditions of work, the questions of pay and prospects have thus a direct interest for a small percentage of university men in the United Kingdom, and in indirect sentimental interest for all. It would be well for us in India, and I think also for them if a sense of solidarity could be fostered and it were recognised that we are fellow-workers in the same great field not unworthy of active sympathy. How far education in India and the educational services are fairly treated might be discovered by a comparison of the conditions of service and prospects of the members

of the educational services with those of the Indian Civil Service. It is beginning to be recognised in the future that the work of educating is not less important than the work of governing India. Is this practically recognised as yet—recognised in that most practical way, which is found by experience to be the loadstone of talents and energy into new fields the advantage and attractiveness of the work, not necessarily as expressed in salary and prospects alone, but in position and prestige, and conditions of service generally? It would carry me further than my present purpose to make the comparison in detail, but it is readily discoverable by anyone who is sufficiently interested to consult the India Office and the Civil Service Commissioners. A paragraph in Lord Curzon's remarkable minute on educational policy, published in March of last year, is, at all events, interesting and relevant. It concludes: "If the reforms now contemplated in the whole system of instruction are successfully carried out, it may be expected that the Educational Service will offer steadily increasing attractions to the best educational talent. Where the problems to be solved are so complex, and the interests at stake so momentous, India is entitled to ask for the highest intelligence and culture that either English or Indian seats of learning can furnish for her needs." This is sound and true.

OUR RULE IN INDIA

(*Weekly Survey*)

At a time when we are all reviling the methods of bureaucratic Government, as exemplified in Russia, and rejoicing in the prospect of their downfall, it will not be amiss to call to mind that by far the largest part of the British Empire is ruled in this manner. There is a theory, vaguely held by the more unthinking members of our home population, that though India has not been granted the privilege of self-government, she yet enjoys many of the benefits of a democratic *regime* through being ruled by a country which has itself a representative constitution. It is time for us to realise that this is a vain imagination. Those who know any thing of the administration of our Indian Empire are aware that the connection between any notions of political autonomy that may be held by the electors of the United Kingdom and the actual machinery employed by our officials in ordering the lives of the people of India is so remote and indirect as to have no practical significance. The average voter, who has no acquaintance with Indian affairs and feels no responsibility in con-

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nection with them while the average member of Parliament, though he may be better informed and more interested, finds his opportunities of intervening with any suggestion or criticism exceedingly few and far between. Beyond having a say through the ordinary channels of partisan support, in the choice of the Prime Minister, who in his turn will appoint the nominal ruler of India, he is virtually powerless to make his influence felt. Even the means of arresting public attention are scarcely available. The annual debate for a single night of Indian affairs in the House of Commons is nothing but a farce, and an appeal through the Press has little chance of getting a wide hearing.

We must face the fact, then, that India is governed entirely by the official class, which for generations past has been mainly recruited from our aristocratic caste. Their rule, of course, absolutely bureaucratic as it is, was a great improvement on the native rule that preceded it. It has been free from the worst features of the Russian Government ; personal freedom has encountered few restrictions of an open and direct kind. Nevertheless, it is true that nearly three hundred million citizens of our Empire are living in a state of political subjection, having their lives directed for them by a mere handful of alien despots, whose authority rests on an armed force. There need be no hesitation in admitting that India owes what prosperity it possesses to British rule, that probably no other outside influence would have been so beneficial, that the country as a whole is not yet ready for self-government, and that the bureaucratic administration has not only been, for the most part, well intentioned, but has shown a consistent devotion to the public welfare. But two facts remain ; first, our policy has not always been wise, and, secondly, that policy, wise or foolish, is forced upon the people.

No one would urge a violent departure from our present methods ; we have inherited responsibilities which cannot lightly be cast aside, from however good a motive. But the question is being pressed upon us whether the time has not come for a change of attitude, for more generous experiments in associating native energy and intelligence with the work of government. A bureaucratic system is necessarily difficult to supersede. It must tend to perpetuate itself from its very constitution. A long tradition of successful effort seems to confirm the possession of vested interests and to discourage a lively imagination of future possibilities. It is unlikely that the British official class will ever, as a body, show any inclination to surrender their way. The appeal which many of the more enlightened and capable Hindus are now making to be allowed a fur-

ther share in determining their own destinies must be addressed to the whole English people, and it is difficult to see how it can be disregarded. It is a cherished political maxim among us that taxation and representation should go hand in hand. What pretext can we have for denying to our brethren in India the right to hold by this principle also? They ask for no sudden upheaval of the machinery of Government—only for a gradual but steady extension of privileges already granted. What is chiefly desired for the present is an increase of the elective element in the larger municipal bodies, and the concession of further powers to the legislative councils. These reforms can no longer be wisely withheld, and in the degree that the experiment is found to be successful it will be possible in due course to proceed to other changes.

The more enthusiastic upholders of the *status quo* will maintain that India already enjoys as good a government as the circumstances of the country permit. But even if it were certain that a fuller trust in native counsels would bring no improvement, it is a sufficient rejoinder that at least it would help to reconcile the people to the hardships of their lot that may be due to social and economic conditions, if they had themselves some opportunity of testing the efficacy of governmental remedies. If they prefer to take a part in governing themselves, even at the risk of being worse governed for a time, it would surely be better to acquiesce. Was it worth while to partition Bengal, even though it were an advantage in administration, when it is bound to cause widespread irritation among those chiefly concerned, and to confirm them in their sense of injustice in being excluded from the regulation of their own affairs? Besides, it cannot be so lightly assumed that the influence of native opinion would not have a beneficial effect on policy. There is much of the misery that still afflicts a large part of the population—the poverty and liability to famine and plague—which could almost certainly be alleviated by measures devised more exclusively in the interests of the inhabitants of India. The terrible burden of taxation which falls upon the small land-holders is in part at least the result of the “forward policy” which has aimed rather at the territorial aggrandisement of the British Empire, a display of bravado in the face of rival powers, than at a true regard for the welfare of the country. There is no fear that native counsellors would make this mistake, and they might well be given a better chance of getting their wishes carried out in the direction of a more pacific rule.

THE JUTE TRADE

A REVIEW AND AN OUTLOOK

The extent of the jute trade is not, perhaps, appreciated by the man in the street—who probably does not know what jute is—and the reason why the trade in this country has mainly centred in Dundee is one of those mysteries in the geography of industry which men sometimes wonder at but which are seldom explained. In spite of the severe competition with this country of the Calcutta mills—which have abundance of the Indian raw material close at hand—Dundee has managed of late to do an increasing trade. In 1904 our imports of raw jute were 360, 432 tons valued at £4,197,72—this valuation comparing with £3,230,872 in 1903. We also imported jute manufactures to the value of £2,207,630 (as compared with £2,367,229 in the previous year), but we re-exported £1,920,156 of these, as well as 103,266 tons of the raw jute. We exported last year our own manufactures of jute to the value of £2,044,451, and jute yarn to the value of £486,647. In the present year, during the ten months ended October 31, we imported 196,058 tons of raw jute valued at £3,254,325 as compared with 188,730 tons valued at £2,520,476 in the corresponding portion of last year. There was a decrease in quantity earlier in the year, accompanied by an increase in value, resulting from the advance in price of the raw material caused by the short crop of last year, but this has now been recovered. Our re-exports of raw jute increased from 74,662 tons to 79,070 tons in the ten months of 1905, and our exports of foreign jute manufactures have decreased from £1,565,685 to £1,508,846—which decrease may be attributed to the conclusion of the war and the loss of the big war demand. In the same period our exports of domestic jute manufactures have increased, as regards yarn, from £396,343 to £463,184, but decreased as regards piece-goods from £1,631,492 to £1,621,071, also mainly in consequence of the war.

For the moment the Dundee market is disturbed by the recent rise in Calcutta and subsequent fluctuation in the price of raw jute although the total entries for the season since August exceed all previous records at the same date. But there is now an active demand for cloth, and it is noteworthy that America has recently been buying large quantities of 36in. to 40in. Hessians, and that Canada also has become a large buyer. With these demands and the requirements of the home trade a good winter outlook is presented. Russia has ceased to purchase during the past month or so, but

Japan is still buying occasional lots of duck and of jute-wetted canvas. Prices generally have not been so high as at present since the beginning of 1892, and both spinners and manufacturers are now doing fairly well. The flax market is, of course, disorganized by the state of affairs in Russia.

THE POSITION OF DUNDEE

Just as the major portion of the raw cotton imported into this country is consumed in the Manchester district, so the greater portion of the raw jute imported is consumed in the Dundee district. This seems curious, in as much as Dundee did not, to begin with, bear the same relation to Eastern commerce as Liverpool, the port of Lancashire, bore both to Indian and to American commerce. But three centuries ago Dundee had twice the population of Glasgow and was the great seat of the linen trade. As that trade expanded and became a great export business, Dundee became the largest port in Scotland. Thereupon followed the manufacture of canvas for shipping, and of cloth for sacking. A crisis in the linen trade arose owing to an enormous advance in the price of flax, and Dundee came out of it victorious by utilizing hemp, which happened then to be cheap. A hundred years ago the East India Company brought home from India some jute, part of which was sent to Germany and part to America. About the year 1824 some of it found its way to Dundee and was tried there by manufacturers of coarse linen, who had been using East Indian hemp. Gradually flax spinners took jute up with such energy that they made a new business of it.

The first export of jute bags, instead of those formerly made of flax tow, was said to have been to the coffee plantations of Dutch Indies. Be that as it may, from the middle of the 19th century, Indian jute, instead of Russian flax, has been the staple of the industries of the Forfarshire town. And perhaps one reason why the industry, once introduced, has remained there is because whale oil is largely used in the "batching" of jute and Dundee has for generations had an extensive whaling fleet. At any rate, after the first entire cargo of jute imported from India was landed at Dundee, in 1840, that town and its surrounding district for many years consumed all the raw jute brought in. Attempts were made to prosecute the industry in Glasgow, in Lancashire, and in Yorkshire, but not with much success, although jute is now used in various parts of the country in combination with other textiles. The actual spinning of the jute fibre alone is still practically confined to Dundee district where in jute spinning and weaving a capital of some £5,000,000

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must now be employed, chiefly in the hands of private firms and private companies—not, like the cotton industry of Lancashire, chiefly in the hands of public joint-stock companies.

Within the last quarter of a century, however, jute manufacturing has developed enormously outside the British Isles. India herself now consumes about one-half the annual crop of the fibre, and Germany and the Continent generally consume more than the whole of Great Britain. The consumption of Dundee is now about one-fifth of the normal Indian crop. Jute yarn is used for the manufacture of sackings, baggings, sheetings, Hessians, Osnaburgs, ducks, and carpetings, and it is also used for the manufacture of various fabrics in combination with flax, tow, and woollen and cotton yarns. Very many of the large consumers in the Dundee district are also flax and tow spinners, and, of course, all the yarn spun in Dundee is not manufactured there, but much is sent to weavers in other parts of the country and abroad.

EFFECT OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

It is an old saying that Dundee always prospers in time of war. This is due to the fact that formerly there was always an enormous demand for jute sandbags in war time: that has, however, not been the case since the Franco-German war. But although Dundee does not in modern times make a fortune out of sandbags, war has still a considerable influence on the jute industry. It necessarily causes, for instance, an extra demand for sacking, for tenting material, and for tarpaulins and the like. During the South African war large requests were made on Dundee for "duck," which is a fabric made of flax warp and flax tow weft, and is used for tents, for coverings for wagons and guns, etc., for bags for provisions, and so on. The same material has also been in large demand for the Far East, both by Russia and Japan, during the recent war. The actual effect of the Russo-Japanese war upon our jute district was considerable, though not on jute products alone. Russia required large quantities of jute bags in various sizes for supply purposes, but she procured most of them in Germany. She bought, however, from us a good deal of sailcloth and duck. With raw material at high prices Dundee would have been much worse off if the large war demand had not sprung up. Japan also has been a large buyer both of jute bags and of jute cloth, but has supplied herself in Calcutta. Jute manufacturing is carried on in Japan, though not as yet to any great extent, and Calcutta is for Japan a nearer and readier purveyor than Dundee. On the other hand, Japan has had to come to Dundee for sailcloth (which is used for heavy bagging, as for sails), for tent duck,

and for a kind of bagging (for rice) made with flax tow warp and jute weft.

CALCUTTA THE CHIEF COMPETITOR

While the flax industry has suffered of late years through high prices for the fibre, and by the substitution of cotton and jute for coarse linen fabrics, the jute industry has benefited. In its turn, however, the jute industry last year suffered from the high prices to which raw jute rose. The advance in the raw material, of course, affected all consumers, both in Europe, in America, and in India, but the great thorn in the flesh of the Dundee manufacturer is his Calcutta competitor. Indian jute cloth has now practically supplanted Dundee cloth in the Far East; and if Japan develops her manufacturing industry so as to cease to buy the Indian material, then Indian jute cloth will be thrown into competition with Dundee goods in other markets.

The great complaint of our domestic producers against their Calcutta competitors is that Calcutta did not raise the price of Hessians last year in proportion to the advance in raw jute. Now Dundee has been accustomed to do a large trade in the United States and South America with Hessians, but necessarily she could not do much at 2d. per 10½ oz. while Calcutta was willing to sell at 1¾d. freight paid.

Prospects of good supplies, both of jute and flax, this year afford promise of improved conditions. As to the effect of peace on the situation, it seems probable that in the opening up of Manchuria and the development of Korea more jute fabrics will be required than Japan can possibly supply. If so, Calcutta will benefit, and perhaps the consequent slackening of Indian competition in other markets will benefit our domestic jute trade. The once splendid trade Dundee did with the United States has been broken into by Calcutta, which now supplies America with nearly all the jute products she requires, only a few specialities being taken from Dundee. The same is the case with the large and growing markets of Argentina. If, however, India can find an increasing market in the East, she may leave the West to our home manufactures. This, at any rate, is what Dundee hopes, though not perhaps optimistic enough actually to expect. The fact that some 40,000 hands are employed at the mills in and around Dundee shows how important is the social aspect of the question there.—(*The Times*)

A SCENE FROM THE RAMAYANA

RAMA'S EXILE

The day dawned, the sun shone in glorious splendour, the canopy of heavens was lit up with a brilliant dazzling light that was in keeping with the affairs of happy Ayodhia, for was not her beloved prince, the idol of the people, the chosen of his race to ascend the throne of his ancestors, and to be crowned her lord and master ? The fast-aging king had given the necessary orders the previous day, and the jubilant people were already forming visions of earthly bliss, and revelling in the super-abundance of their joy. They knew their beloved prince Rama too well, and what else could they demand from old Dasaratha, their king, than that the active administration of the affairs of the state might be handed over to one best fitted by his education, his training, his character and above all his sympathy to discharge ? The happy mother unable to contain her joy and the loving wife bade their Rama god-speed on the auspicious morning.

Another throne was spread for the royal prince who had already been nominated heir-apparent, not only by the highest traditions of his race, the command of his father, the reigning king, but by the unexpressed will of the people as well. The ministers assembled in their gayest robes, the nobles and the gentry flocked to the Durbar to witness the auspicious ceremony that was to be performed with the usual rites by the priest who was present. There was breathless excitement, anxious suspense. All eyes were fastened to the door which was to usher in the king, their royal master. The door opened, there was a sudden pause, but the king came not, and the royal messenger had taken his place.

The assembled crowds looked to the face of the new arrival to read an explanation, as it were, of his intrusion, but they got no reply, the face was dull and serene as ever. The servant bowed to the royal prince and simply delivered his message : "My royal master the king wants you at your mother Kaikayi's palace." The people felt as if a blow had struck them, it looked ominous. They could not but feel as if a cloud no bigger than a man's hand had arisen to mar the felicity of the occasion and they had perforce to wait.

The prince in the meantime reached the costly apartments of his step-mother, the favourite Rani Kakayi, the mother of Bharat. He bended his head low in obeisance to his parents, and enquired their royal commands. The poor king, choked with grief and sorrow, found himself unable to speak, but the Rani came forward to enlighten the Prince.

"Look at your royal father," said she, "he gave me his word to do a thing and now hesitates to keep it."

"Can I be of any service," exclaimed the prince, "whereby my father's word may be kept inviolate?"

"Yes," replied the Rani, "you can, if you wish to keep your father's promise."

"Nothing that I can do to keep my father's troth," exclaimed the prince, "will be left undone."

The prince calmly waited the details which his step-mother unfolded to him with a heartlessness that passeth all description.

"Your father was once fighting with his enemy and fell from his chariot. I saved him from being crushed under the running wheel and he pledged his troth, that any wishes of mine he will scrupulously carry out. Why should he feel any hesitation now?"

"What are your desires then," enquired Rama, "on which you have set your heart?"

"Only that you go on fourteen years' exile to Dandak's wood," naively requested the step-mother "and allow Bharat to rule the kingdom in thy place."

"So shall it be," replied the duteous Rama, "my father's will is law. To Dandak will Rama go, and Bharat shall rule the kingdom of Ayodhia in his place."

The grief-stricken father tried to restrain the young Prince, but the die was cast, and the resolve made.—*The Daily Times of Lahore.*

A TOPSY-TURVY LAND

If the new comer to India is often inclined to remark that in this country everything is upside down, the Indian may retort that it only seems so to those who stand upon their heads. A great deal depends upon the point of view. "Is it really true," an Indian villager once asked the writer, "that in your country ploughs are made of iron?" "Yes," was the reply. "And drawn by horses? Well, yours is the queerest country I ever heard of." It is certainly very remarkable, when one considers it, in how many respects the Indian and the European take the exactly opposite view of doing the same thing. About ten years ago Mr. William Cockburn, in *North India Notes and Queries*, wrote a paper in which he sought to reduce the physical difference between the Asiatic and the European to a theory. The theory was that the Asiatic always, if possible, uses his flexor muscles by which the limbs are bent, while

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the European prefers the extensors, by which the limbs are straightened. This is a fact, not a theory; the theory lay in Mr. Cockburn's explanation. This was that the use of the flexors, whenever possible, is natural to man as it is the law that prevails in the animal world, where the greater development of the flexor muscles, compared with the extensors, gives the lower creatures the greater speed of movement and their facility in climbing, jumping, flying, etc. To flex the muscles demands the expenditure of less energy than to extend them, and generates less heat, facts which have long ago been discovered in the more ancient civilisations of the warmer countries of the world. In the colder countries man is more of an exotic, lives a less natural life, and uses his extensors to generate more heat, and thus prolong life. Whatever truth there may be in the theory, one has not to go far in India to find illustrations of the fact. The *man* digging in the garden does not throw the earth from him as the English gardener does, but pulls it towards him. The carpenter sawing wood does not drive the saw but pulls it, in token of which fact the teeth of an Indian saw are set in the opposite way from those of an English saw. Even in planing, which is almost a purely extensoral act, the Indian carpenter is fond of getting some one to help him by pulling the plane (just as a coolie using a shovel often gets another to help him to raise it by means of a rope tied to the handle,) and he always prefers to use his favourite tool, the adze, which cuts downwards and inwards, whereas a European joiner would use the plane or chisel. Even when the Indian workman has been induced to adopt the labour-saving machinery introduced from Europe, he shows a strange perversity in sacrificing part of the benefit through his habit of preferring to pull than to push. Thus, in turning a wheel, as in raising water from a well or working a crane, instead of pushing the handle down and so getting the benefit of the weight of his body, he pulls it up, and so sacrifices that natural advantage. For the same reason the wheel-barrow has never become naturalised in India, although specially suited for a country where roads are still comparatively few but footpaths abound. The Indian drill works in the opposite direction from the European bit-and-brace, and the pot is stirred not from left to right, as in the West, but from right to left.

The same rule holds good in weapons of warfare. The Indian sword is made for cutting, not for thrusting, and the common *daas* and daggers are on the same principle. The Indian, in the use of the weapons nature has provided for offence and defence, does not hit out straight from the shoulder like the European, but strikes

from above downwards, or from right to left with a sweeping movement. Nor is the "back-handed slap" of which most English school boys have had personal experience known in the East. Kicking out is also rare, although it is coming in with football. Another physical exercise in which the difference is very marked is swimming. In India the arms are not extended outwards as in Europe, but the stroke is downward and inward. Nor does the Indian take a header into the water with arms extended. Those who have seen the famous divers at Delhi and elsewhere, diving from the roofs of mosques into adjacent tanks, will remember that they came down feet foremost and assumed a squatting attitude before reaching the water.

Then in riding the Indian horse-man keeps his position, not like the European, by holding on by the extensor muscles of the thigh with toes directed inwards, but by grasping the saddle with the flexors, that is to say, with the calves of his legs, the toes being directed outwards. An Indian scavenger sweeps towards himself and not away from himself like his brother in the West. When the Indian beckons some one to approach he does so with the palm of the hand downwards, the European in the corresponding act turns the palm upwards. Even in Indian writing there is an avoidance of movement of extension. This is very apparent in the case of Persian, which is written from right to left, but it also holds good in Hindi and other Sanskrit languages. Nearly all the strokes are written downwards; the upward sweeps common in English writing are very rare.

So far as the physical goes, the matter is beyond dispute, and the suggestion already referred to that the difference is due to climatic reasons, is rendered more probable if it is true, as some observers tell us, that the use of the extensor muscles is more common among the sturdier races in the colder regions of the hills, where the use of the spade, the shovel, and the wheel-barrow in European style are much more easily acquired. But the physical by no means exhausts the subject. The mental differences are still a mystery. Why, for instance, does your Indian servant persist in replacing your books upside down in their shelves after dusting them? To clap the hands in the West is to express approval; in India it means the very opposite—scorn, contumely, disapprobation. Two women squabbling in the bazaar will clap their hands at each other when their stores of vituperation are exhausted. It has been said that on the part of an Indian audience silence is a more reliable sign of approval or admiration than applause. A speaker at a public

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meeting in India who spoke of "building the whole house from the top to the bottom" was once accused of having used a mixed metaphor. But his description was literally true of the method of house-building commonly followed by the Indian villager. First by means of four posts he erects a roof, and then, protected from rain and sun, proceeds up, building the walls at his leisure. Many Western witticisms become sober facts in India. It is an ancient classical joke that pictures Rusticus sitting expectant upon the banks of a river, waiting for the water to run away. The sojourner in the mofussil here must be exceptionally fortunate who has not often had to do the same in the rains. "If wishes were horses, beggars would ride," says the English proverb; but the professional beggar, mounted on horseback, is a familiar sight in India. There are no doubt good reasons why it is the custom in India to uncover the feet instead of the head as a mark of respect towards either a building or an individual, but it is more difficult to explain why among many classes it is considered a breach of etiquette to appear in public bare-headed. There are good reasons, too, why the domestic "spring cleaning" should in India take place in the autumn, at the close of the rainy season, but why does a native of India put his umbrella to dry upside down? In language, too, the idiom is very often the exact contrary of the English. An Indian never speaks of his father and mother, but invariably of his mother and father—*ma bap*, *mata pita*, etc. And *Ego et meus Rex*, literally translated, would be good Hindustani as it is good Latinity.

It is probably carrying the flexor *versus* extensor theory too far to apply it to pronunciation, on the ground that the European habit is to extend the tongue forwards to the teeth or upwards to the roof of the mouth, whereas the Indian keep it more under restraint in the lower part of the mouth. Anatomists do not recognise flexors or extensors of the tongue, although some of its movements are analogous; but the Indian letter-sounds which the European as a rule finds it most difficult to acquire are the palatals, where the tip of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth. It can hardly be proved that the unruly member which no man can tame is in any sense more under the control in the East than in the West, for while some Indian sounds almost baffle the European, there are many English sounds which are equally difficult to the Indian. It is true the Indian very seldom learns to whistle in the English style, and regards the art as something very wonderful, but that is more clearly an extensoral act by the protrusion of the lips. It has been said that the Indian habit of placing the emphasis on the first syllable of

a word, as contrasted with the English habit of putting it on the second,—an Indian, for example, says *Cul-cutta*, while a European says *Cal-cut-ta*—is an illustration of the same law of economising muscular energy, that the former requires less effort than the latter ; but this involves a minuteness of discrimination quite beyond the reach of ordinary minds. The common Indian habit of euphonic repetition *roti oti*, *dharm karm*, etc—is also said to be a mark of linguistic laxness, the object being to give the tongue a rest by a recoil after saying a difficult word. But the habit is by no means peculiar to India. Hotch-potch, higgledy-piggledy, harum-scarum, and many similar combinations are common in colloquial English. It is very useful to have a theory to carry us along, but we must take care not to let it run away with us.—*The Statesman*.

REVIEW OF LEADING INDIAN REVIEWS

East and West

The *East and West* of the month of November is a fair number. It welcomes in the opening pages their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales with a short poem entitled the *East and West* and represents the Prince of Wales as the "Heir of East and West." The other articles are *Some Problems of Co-operative Credit*, *Some Lessons from Thomas Carlyle*, the *Religious Philosopher as a Social Harmonizer*, *A modern View of Miracles*, *Nur Jahan*, *What Constitutes a Nation*, *The truth shall make you free* and the *Philosophy of the Gathas*. The article on *Nur Jahan* is rendered an agreeable study by brilliant flashes of rhetoric, vivid paintings of the wild beauties of nature, pathos-stirring descriptions of the adverse circumstances which attended the journey of Nur Jahan's parents—the pale, wan mother seated on a cow, the care-worn, depressed father urging the cow forwards and the both together threading their way through dangerous passes—and of the trying moment in which the future Empress of India saw the light of the day. The writer has not brought it to a speedy conclusion in a few brief pages but has reserved it for a future issue. In "What Constitutes a Nation?" Mr. H. G. Keene, c.s.i., observes that India is not yet a nation, whatever steps the people may be taking in that direction.

The Hindustan Review

The *Hindustan Review* of December last bears the title of *The National Number*. The title is justified by the contents of the number. It opens auspiciously, as it were, with *Gleams of Hope* from the masterly pen of Sir Henry Cotton and contains a number of discourses on the beneficent effects of the *Indian National Congress* and a few other articles on *National Reconstruction in India*, *A National Language for India*, *The National Poem of India*, *The Indian National Social Conference*, *The Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale* and *The Scenes and Sights of Benares*. The writer of the *National Reconstruction in India* raises the question if the East will ever commingle with the West and answers in the affirmative by asserting that India shall be the meeting-ground of *East and*

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West. In *A National Language for India*, the writer suggests that a common language for all India can be devised out of the chief Indian languages on the lines of the Esperanto. *The Indian National Social Conference* invites particular attention to some of the more pressing and momentous social problems and represents social well-being as the keystone of a nation's success. The National Number of the *Hindusthan Review* is a decent reading and throws a flood of light on many of the important problems that affect our present situation.

The Indian Review

The November number of our Contemporary opens, as usual, with a few *Editorial Notes* including some comments on an admirable sermon preached by the Lord Bishop of Bombay on the 12th November before T. R. H. the Prince and Princess of Wales. *The verdict on Lord Curzon* is summarised elsewhere. Under the heading of *India and English Party Politics*, we find the views of Lala Lajpat Rai who advises our countrymen to 'look mainly to themselves and their own exertions for political progress.' The comparative account of *Asoka and Marcus Aurelius* from the pen of the late Mr. Srinivasan is very interesting. Mr. Shotara Kimura, 'a Japanese now in India,' has a nice little paper on the spread of *Buddhism in India*. The next two pages are devoted to an extract from the Gita Lectures of Prof. M. Rangachariyar M. A. Mr. Padhye contributes a second instalment of his lecture on *Orthodox Political Economy and Modern Conditions*. Mr. Tikekar's able paper on *cotton cultivation* is dealt with in page 339. Mr. Girindra Nath Dutt's article on the *Brahmans and Kyasthas of Bengal* is continued. The number closes with a few notes on *current events* followed by some reviews and notices.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

At a meeting of the Society of Arts, held early this month, the Partition of Bengal was discussed. Lord George Hamilton presided. Sir James Bourdillon said that as a Bengal Civilian he regretted the dismemberment and thought the grievances of those who opposed it might have been met in a more sympathetic manner, but he believed on the whole that the measures to effect the object were satisfactory. Lord George Hamilton said the word partition was misleading. What has happened to Bengal was not 'partition' but duplication of machinery which had proved insufficient. He predicted that in ten years the change would be so beneficial that the people would ask why it had not been made before.

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The Madras Hindu Association offers a prize of Rupees One Hundred for the best Essay in English on "Shastric Sanction for the Marriage of Brahman Girls after Puberty." A Committee, consisting of Prof. M. Rangachariya, Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer and the Hon'ble Mr. P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar will award the prize. The competition is open to all. Complete references should be given to authorities cited. The Essay should be in English, legibly written or typed. The Madras Hindu Association will have the full right of publishing and translating it in any language. No Essays shall be returned. All essays must reach Mr. G. A. Natesan, Joint Secretary, Esplanade, Madras, on or before the 31st March, 1906.

* *

The Royal Asiatic Society has undertaken for the Government of India the preparation of a series of translations of native Indian historical works to be called "The Indian Texts Series;" and as a companion to this series has been projected another to be known as "The Indian Records Series." Of this series the first to be issued in this monumental compendium of documents is Mr. Hill's. We are glad to learn that this is to be followed by a History of Fort William from the papers of the late and much lamented Dr. C. R. Wilson; also by the Reports of Streynsham Master written between 1676 and 1680, and papers relating to Lord Clive's Administration and by a History of Fort St. George and of public buildings at Madras. The last-named work is now in preparation by Colonel

H. D. Love, R. E. We have no doubt that both series will prove highly interesting and useful to all lovers of history.

* * *

We take the following from the *Englishman* of fifty years ago :—

“ It is reported that the Government is about to take steps to prevent any attack being made on Calcutta by land, in the event of an outbreak among the tribes located towards the south of Calcutta. What reason there is to expect any such rising it is difficult to discover, but there must be some truth in it, because from a personal inspection of Hastings' Bridge we can affirm that it would be impossible for a body of men to pass over it *en masse* without a certainty of being precipitated into the sweet scented *nullah* beneath. The Alipore Bridge has not been replaced, and the new or Hallidassical Bridge is of wood and can be destroyed in a moment. The only remaining one is the Kidderpore Bridge which will not fall into the *nullah* this year, but may in a few months. Who the clever engineer is who has managed to plan the Hastings' Bridge in what may be called this high state of defence we do not know, but would strongly recommend him to the attention of the G. G. for immediate promotion to some of the disturbed territories far away from Calcutta.” (Dec. 13, 1855).

“ We have just seen an eighteen inch terrestrial globe with all the names of places, etc., in the Bengali language and character. It has been constructed by Babu Ram Chunder Mitter, one of the Professors of the Hindu College, and it is remarkable as the first globe ever made for the instruction of the natives in the true principles of geography, discarding the elephant and the tortoise and other mythological adjuncts of the Brahminical system. It is a work of great labour, requiring scientific as well as mechanical skill and is very creditable to Babu Ram Chunder who has long been employed in tuition, being we believe, now the senior Professor in the Education Department.” (Dec. 14, 1855).

* * *

Perhaps most of our readers (says the *Times of Assam*) do not know the origin of *Bande Mataram* (Hail, Mother!) which the Bengalis have now adopted as their national cry. The phrase was first devised by the late Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the famous novelist of Bengal, in one of his novels called *Ananda Math*. The novel is a historical romance of the days of Warren Hastings and is descriptive of the rebellion of the *Sannyasis* (religious mendicants) which occurred in his time. After the great famine which overtook

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Bengal about the years 1774-1775, these mendicants, some thousands in number, rose up to a man and formed themselves into a military brotherhood with the object of driving away the *Mlecchas* (barbarians, i. e., foreigners) from their motherland, as they thought that it was owing to the presence of these unclean foreigners that God had punished the people of Bengal with His dire visitation in the shape of gaunt famine. The rendezvous of these military monks was the *Ananda Math* (abode of joy, situated in an impenetrable forest. The *Sannyasis* succeeded not only in subduing some of the Mahomedan rulers of many parts of Bengal but also in completely routing a body of English troops under an English commander. But ultimately they gave way before the English. The war-cry of these *Sannyasis* was *Bande Mataram*. The last word may either mean the motherland or Durga, the goddess of war.



The following is a translation of the late Babu Bunkim Chandra Chatterji's Ode to Bengal, the picturesque Motherland of the Bengalee people :—

My Mother land, I sing.
Her splendid streams, her glorious trees,
The zephyr from the far-off Vindhyan heights,
Her fields of waving corn,
The rapt'rous radiance of her moonlit nights,
The trees in flower that flame afar,
The smiling days that sweetly vocal are,
The happy, blessed mother-land.

Her will by seventy million throats extolled,
Her power twice seventy million arms uphold,
Her strength let no man scorn.

Thou art my head, thou art my heart,
My life and soul art thou,
My song, my worship and my art,
Before thy feet I bow.

As Durga, scourge of all thy foes,
As Lachmi, bowered in the flower—
That in the water grows ;
As Bani, wisdom, power,
The source of all our might.
Our every temple doth thy form enfold.

Unequalled, tender, happy, pure,
Of splendid streams, of glorious trees,
My mother-land I sing,
The stainless charms that o'er endure,
And verdant banks and wholesome breeze,
That with her praises ring.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

The young Maharaja Rana of Dholpur is among the inventors who have filed specifications of inventions which they want protected in the Patent Office, Calcutta. His Highness, in conjunction with Mr. H. C. Clogstoun, Superintendent of the Dholpur State, and Mr. A. N. Thorpe, a Civil and Mechanical Engineer of Dholpur, is the patentee of an improved fibre or flax extractor. This is one of the happiest signs of the times.



It has now been definitely decided to open the Hyderabad Industrial Exhibition on the 27th January next. The objects of this great exhibition are to have on view the vast industrial and economic resources of the Hyderabad State, to mark the progress made in the past decade, and decide the lines on which the proposed improvement in the future should run. The exposition is expected to last at least a month.



The history of the trade in kamala, a beautiful red dye, affords melancholy indication of the way in which persistent adulteration has resulted in the neglect of a valuable commercial article. Kamala is extracted from the seeds of the tree of that name and is sent to the market in the form of a powder. The powder is not unlike brickdust, and the consequence is that adulteration is easy. Dyers are abandoning the use of the article, which is the greater pity because the dye is a fast one and has been replaced by imported aniline dyes. At one time the powder was used in medicine in Europe, but such use is now almost obsolete. The reason, doubtless, is because brickdust, whatever its other virtues, is not of much value taken internally. The tree is common in all parts of India and the extraction of the dye is a perfectly simple matter. These and other facts about the dye are to be found in an official publication by the Officiating Reporter of Economic Products to the Government of India. (*The Englishman*).

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We are very glad to see that a worthy effort is being made to establish "The Ranade Economic Institute" at Poona in permanent commemoration of that great and good man, the late Mr. Justice Ranade. Mr. Gokhale is the Secretary of the Memorial Fund, which already reaches Rs. 68,000, the aim being to raise some Rs. 90,000. The object of the proposed Institute are stated to be these :—(1) To collect all available information about past and present industrial undertakings and present and future industrial possibilities in India. (2) To collect statistical, historical, and other information about other countries, which is likely to be useful to the industrial progress of India. (3) To publish from time to time reviews by competent persons of the economic position, needs, and prospects of India. (4) To send, as funds permit, scholars, with good qualifications in Science, Engineering, or Technical Arts, and possessing the necessary aptitudes, to England, Japan, and other foreign countries to learn the manufacture of those article for which there is a plentiful supply of raw material in this country and which might, therefore, be profitably manufactured here. (5) To provide facilities to such scholars, on their return to India, to enable them to demonstrate by experiments on a small scale that the manufactures iu question can be successfully started. (6) To advance in other ways the Industrial development of the country.

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

MR. LAJPAT RAI'S VIEWS ON THE *SWADESHI* MOVEMENT

At a meeting held at Lahore, Mr. Lajpat Rai, one of the delegates of the last Congress to England and one of the most self-sacrificing leaders of public opinion in India, made the following observations on the *swadeshi* movement :—

"While on one hand the Swadeshi movement is calculated to give an impetus to Indian industries and manufactures, the boycott movement on the other hand aims at the protection of the same from unequal and unscrupulous competition from without. It is not our intention to discuss whether the latter view is sound or not when judged by the orthodox standard of political economy but that it is a perfectly legitimate weapon to be wielded by a law-abiding people we have no doubt. If so, any attempt to persecute those people who have resolved to use this weapon for political purposes, is illegal, unconstitutional and unjustifiable and under the circumstances every Indian, whether he accepts the boycott movement as sound or not, can legitimately sympathise with our countrymen in Bengal in their present trouble and protest against the persecution to which they are being subjected. We know that some Government officials are at the present moment carrying on a nefarious trade by setting class against class and classes against masses. We also know that they have here and there succeeded in winning over some of our Mahommeden brethren to their side but we are not at all discomfited by that because we believe that all this is only natural, in fact, encouraging. This sort of diplomacy is usually one of the last weapons that are wielded in self-defence by tottering despotisms. The Congress agitation was the first articulate protest against English despotism in India. As soon as the protest was made the despotism set itself to the task of dividing the people and fanning class and religious prejudices. Ever since Mahomedans have been set against Hindus, Sikhs against both, agriculturists against money-lenders and so on. The trade has the great charm of looking at first sight to be a paying one. It is, no doubt, very profitable for those who act as the tools of the Government in spreading this propaganda but that it is in the long run a very dangerous game both for the Government as well as for the people at large is proved by the events that are at present happening in Russia. It contains

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within itself some inflammable elements which once let loose in the end spare neither friend nor foe. To those who have any doubt in the matter I will commend a serious study of Russian politics within the last century. I, therefore, take this opportunity of appealing to all my countrymen irrespective of caste or creed not to allow themselves to be made the tools of officials in spreading disunion amongst our people.

"Beware, gentlemen, of the cunning, wily appeals sometimes flattering, sometimes threatening, sometimes made in the name of religion, at others in the name of religious nationality, sometimes pleading in the name of past greatness, at others setting up the phantoms of a great future separate from the rest of the people of this country. Remember we are inhabitants of one country, breathe the same atmosphere, in our veins runs practically the same blood, we are the common inheritors of a glorious past and united we stand and divided we fall. The present is a critical time in the history of our country. We are just now in the throes of a great crisis. If at this juncture we fail to realise our responsibilities as *Indians*, we set back the tide of progress by a number of years. I say advisedly for a number of years because I have a firm conviction that our progress as a nation may be impeded but it cannot be altogether stopped. Beware, then, gentlemen! of those creeping counsels of discord and disunion which are often breathed in your ears in words of honey and in accents of affection and sympathy. There are signs on the horizon and all those who have eyes can see the same that the process of disillusionment has commenced and both Hindus and Mahomedans have begun to see far.

"My appeal to you does not mean that you should cease to be Hindus or Mahomedans. Nay, if you do that I will cease to respect you. By all means love your respective religions as deeply as you can, try to serve your respective communities to the best of your ability, nay even exert to strengthen them between themselves but never play in the hands of the common enemy whoever he may be. The British Government, as representative of the British nation, is not our enemy, though we cannot say the same of those who try to divide us, to prosecute us, to insult us and to trample upon our cherished rights and privileges. Loyalty to the British Government does not demand loyalty to these latter officials. They are themselves disloyal to their own Government in so far as they try to defy the constitution and the law and thereby weaken British rule in India, and in so far as they alienate the affections and the sympathy of the people from that rule."

SOME NOTABLE VIEWS OF THE MONTH

THE WORK BEFORE US

In a letter addressed to the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale and dated London, November 26, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji writes :—

“A most serious responsibility now rests upon us as well as upon the British rulers. What are the means necessary to accomplish that aim ? Like every movement, great or small, “thorough union” and men and means are necessary. Union among all is the one absolutely necessary fundamental condition. Without union all other efforts will be vain. Any one who produces a disunion and thereby stultifies or dissipates our energies or forces cannot but be an ill-wisher of his country. With the enormous difficulties before us we cannot afford to be divided among ourselves.

“We have now around us a new generation, well educated and prepared—thanks to past work,—for this great task before them. Theirs is now the responsibility. Let the youth of the rising generation rally round the Congress with that energy, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which the vigour of youth and manhood can alone most furnish. Let them come with their fresh ideas, place them before the Congress, discuss them, abide by and undertake the burden of carrying into effect the decisions of the majority. Let those who desire to have their own way, let them work in their own way towards the same goal and not hamper or destroy others’ work. There is ample work for every one to do, his best in his own best way, for the one ultimate end of our self-government. I do not despair. I think the time is not far off. The love of liberty and justice is lately reviving strongly among the English people and with the effect of other events in the world, I think our day of emancipation is much nearer than many of us imagine, if we are true to ourselves and to our responsibilities.

“But the transformation from a system of tyranny into a self-governing system in India is not a new and impracticable thing. It has been partly already done. This case is one of those bright spots on the many dark pages of British Indian History. It is an event of the inspiration of hope in us yet. Queen Victoria aided and influenced Lord Salisbury and Sir Strafford Northcote to promote this blessed work, and a transformation in the right direction was actually effected. Self-government was actually, largely and practically commenced in Mysore. And Mysore, which was then in a miserable condition, rose in prosperity with its enjoyment of even its partial self-government. I cannot enter into details here but refer to my letter to the Royal Commission, in my book (pp. 373-376). But I

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may here cite two remarkable utterances of these two statesmen as they point to the solution to a large extent as a commencement of this very problem of self-government. Here are Lord Salisbury's statesman-like words (1867):—

“The general concurrence of opinion of those who know India best is that a number of well-governed Native States are in the highest degree advantageous to the development of the political and moral condition of the people of India.”

Sir Strafford Northcote said :—“There might be difficulties ; but what we had to aim at was to establish a system of Native States which might maintain themselves in a satisfactory relation.”

“With these pronouncements and the actual practical application of them before our eyes, in the case of Mysore to a certain extent, why should we despair of either this or some other suitable transformation being carried out as a beginning? Here is an accomplished fact and all the British Government has to do is to carry it out in all India in the true British spirit with which Queen Victoria was actuated and the two statesmen were inspired and a great and good work was actually done. And as an earnest of genuine and honest desire to give self-government immediate effect should be given to the resolution of 1893 for simultaneous examinations, though ultimately self government will make its own arrangement for all its services. Never despair—the object is within our grasp. Depend upon the revived British spirit of freedom that is at present passing over this country. Our time is near if we grasp it by strenuous efforts and peaceful uprising or unceasing demand from all over the country.

“For the purpose of inspiring the people with the desire of the duties and rights of British free citizens, each province should furnish a band of educated men to become the missionaries of this work and to devote themselves under suitable organization to do it by diffusing the knowledge of this great and pressing demand and of the resolutions of the Congress. Even in England itself, the English have even to this day to do the same spade-work among the people, for various reforms and their objects. The Democracy is being now taught its lesson and being aroused.

“Side by side with the work to be done in India, there must also be vigorous work of propagandism in England. We cannot accomplish our object by working only in India or only in England. They are two halves of one whole and by their combination only can the whole work be done.”

DIARY

FOR THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER 1905

Date

1. The People's Proclamation urging on the unity of Bengal read throughout the Provinces.
2. Lord and Lady Minto leave Victoria station for India.
3. Opening of the Daly College, Indore.
6. The king approves of the appointment of Major-General Scott as Supply Member of the Council in India.
8. Mr. P. C. Lyon, Chief Secretary of Mr. Fuller, issues an anti-*Swadeshi* circular.
9. Landing of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Bombay.
11. Lord Curzon arrives at Agra and holds a secret Conference with Mr. Fuller and receives some Addresses.
15. Royal Party at Indore. Lord Curzon at Bombay.
16. Lord Curzon delivers his farewell speech at the Byculla Club.
17. Arrival of Lord Minto at Bombay.
18. Royal Party at Udaipur.
20. Lord and Lady Curzon leave India.
21. Royal Party at Jaipur.
22. Lord Minto arrives in Calcutta.
23. Captain the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor of the Transvaal, appointed Governor of Madras.
24. Royal Party at Bikanir.
28. Royal Party at Lahore.
29. Tashi Lama arrives at Darjeeling.
30. St. Andrew's Dinner in Calcutta.

EDITORIAL NOTES

TERRITORIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN PRO- VINCES

At a meeting of the Society of Arts held in London some weeks ago, Sir James Bourdillon read a very interesting paper on "The Partition of Bengal," in the course of which he maintained that sooner or later a re-constitution of the Eastern Provinces of India was bound to take place. Any man who has studied closely the question of Indian administration cannot but endorse that idea and consider it an inevitable measure of reform.

But most unfortunately during the heat of the controversy on the partition of Bengal this most important issue was lost sight of both by the government and the people of India. The government stuck to its guns of breaking up Bengal Proper and would not hear of any *other* proposal to meet the difficulties of the situation. The people, in their turn, obstinately refused to admit that either any territorial redistribution was necessary or that the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was at all a heavy charge for any single administrator. There is no good in burying your heads under the sand like the ostrich and refusing to look facts in the face. And if you do, Nemesis is bound to overtake you ; and, as sure as ever, it has overtaken both the people and the government of India.

It was far from prudent on the part of the people of Bengal to ignore the difficulties which successive Lieutenant-Governors have experienced in administering the affairs of these provinces and to which public expression has time and again been given to in England and India. A careful perusal of the Parliamentary blue-book recently published on the subject of the partition would impress upon every reader the fact that the present race of Anglo-Indian administrators (you may call them degenerates, if you please) feel and find that no single man can discharge the duties of the provincial satrap of Bengal with very great satisfaction or efficiency. Sir Charles Elliot, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, also admitted this in the course of the debate which followed the reading of Sir James Bourdillon's paper before the Society of Arts. If Lieutenant-Governors themselves will say that the charge of Bengal is inconveniently heavy for them there is no good quarelling with that fact, however much we may regret the decad-

ence of Anglo-Indian statesmanship in these days. It was therefore a great blunder on the part of our people not to have looked that fact squarely in the face.

Equally serious was the blunder committed by Lord Curzon's Government in ignoring the fact that a sensible scheme of territorial redistribution and a relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal might both be effected without breaking-up Bengal Proper. Lord Curzon would not think of such an inconvenient alternative and so he pinned his faith on dividing Bengal in the way he has done. Everybody knows by this time with what result.

In an open letter addressed to Lord Curzon in March 1904 and published in a pamphlet, entitled *The Map of India*, the Editor of this Review suggested to the Indian Government the advisability of taking up the question of the territorial redistribution of the Indian provinces as a whole instead of occasionally adjusting provincial boundaries with a view to give relief to particular administrations. It was rather a large order but sooner or later it has to be done. India is now one country and one body-politic. You cannot touch one province without interfering in some way or other with the jurisdiction of a neighbouring one. No one can handle one limb of an organism without disturbing the others. To think of adjusting or shifting the boundaries of any one province in India without undertaking a general scheme of territorial redistribution of all the other provinces is an absurd and hopeless idea.

Lord Curzon himself has not been able to give effect to the partition of Bengal without interfering with the boundaries of 3 separate provincial administrations of India. In carving out the North-Western Frontier Province from the Punjab the jurisdiction of 2 local governments was disturbed and the name of the third changed. Yet Lord Curzon did not dare approach the question from the standpoint of the statesman and put the evil day only to do things by halves. This is certainly not the right way to go to work. The circumstances of a progressive and advanced administration demand that no manner of province-breaking and province-making should be attempted in a haphazard way without settling the principles which should guide such a work. Do away with principles and you are bound to invite hostile criticism and engender local discontent. Admit some principles, and you at once find the work easy enough of accomplishment.

Indeed, there is a very inexpensive way of reconstructing the various provinces of India on lines of least resistance and settling the question of territorial redistribution for good. This would be

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a way out of the Bengal Partition and should, as such, be welcomed by the Government.

From the day of Plassey down to our own time the map of India has continually been changing colour. Fresh conquests and annexations have thrown vast tracts of country now to be added to this province and now to another. No order or system, however, has been observed so long in the making up of the Provinces. A policy of drift has been followed up with vengeance by a line of successive Viceroys caring nothing for ethnic and sociological conditions. The whole of the country has now come under British sway and no territory within it remains either to be conquered or annexed. If conquests or annexations have to be made, they will now come within the province either in the extreme west or the extreme east. The mainland of India will not be affected by any subsequent territorial expansion of England's Asiatic Empire. Nor is it likely that the Native States which are now scattered all over the country will ever come under the direct government of the British. Since Lord Dalhousie's time, British policy has changed considerably regarding the treatment towards these States and it now seems to have reached a definite shape. Now is the time to think of re-casting, so far as possible, the map of India on a *scientific* basis.

No map of India can claim any scientific value which ignores all historical knowledge and ethnic conditions. If here and there sentiment and traditions have to be respected, there is no reason why they should not be done. Province-making ought not to be carried like empire-building in an arbitrary way and must always be planned on lines of least resistance.

British India, excluding Burmah, was divided before the partition of Bengal into nine large Provincial Administrations, besides four small ones (Ajmere-Merwara, Andamans and Nicobar, Berars and Coorg). The nine large provinces are :—

Provinces			No. of Districts	Date of Establishment	Area in Sq. Miles
UNDER GOVERNOR & COUNCIL :—					
Bombay	...	...	23	1784	123,064
Madras	...	...	21	1784	141,762
UNDER A LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR :—					
Bengal (as it was before the 15th Oct. last)			47	1853	151,185
Punjab	...	...	31	1859	97,209
United Provinces of Agra and Oude			49	1835	107,164

EDITORIAL NOTES

UNDER A CHIEF COMMISSIONER :—

Assam (as it was before the 15th Oct. last)	13	1874	56,243
Beluchistan	5	1887	45,804
Central Provinces	18	1861	141,726
N.-W. Frontier Province	5	1901	16,466

Intelligently read, the above table must by itself be taken as a sufficient indictment against the British Indian *system* of administration. The indictment comes under three heads. Firstly, there is no uniformity in the system of Government in the above 9 provinces, 2 being under a Governor and Council, 3 being under Lieutenant-Governors and the remaining 4 under Chief Commissioners. Secondly, all the provinces lack an ethnic and historical basis, all of them having been constituted in a more or less haphazard way on the basis either of conquest or annexation. For instance, the Bombay Presidency was made up from the countries acquired from the Peshwa, Scindhia and Holkar at the close of the 18th century and Bengal from a grant, made by the Nawab of Mushidabad, of the *diwani* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The third head of the indictment is their very unequal size and importance, the number of the Districts in the existing provinces being 5, 5, 13, 18, 21, 23, 31, 47 and 49, and the area varying from 16,466 in the N.-W. Frontier Province to 151,185 in Bengal. The areas of the existing districts again vary so widely as from 116 sq. miles in Banki (in Orissa) to 17,380 sq. miles in Vizagapatam (in Madras) excluding from our calculation the three Presidency Districts and Simla which must of necessity be of very small area.

If the great Mogul could bring down all his *Subahs* to the same political status and to a general uniformity in size, it is difficult to see why the British Provinces cannot either be levelled up or down to nearly a common standard of political status and importance. So long, however, as the map of India is not revised with a view to a tolerable uniformity, the question of territorial re-distribution will not cease to trouble Anglo-Indian administrators.

Some of the British Indian provinces date their present constitution from 1784, some from about the middle of the last century and one was created by Lord Curzon a little over a couple of years ago. One must admit that there has been occasional re-distribution of territories, but it will be seen at the same time that they have been carried out in a more or less timid and half-hearted way. The Delhi Territory, for instance, up to the right bank of the Jumna, including the City of

A Historical Outline

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Delhi and adjacent districts, was transferred from the N. W. Provinces to the Punjab when it was thought necessary to elevate the latter from the charge of a Chief Commissioner to that of a Lieutenant-Governor in 1859. When the territorial Division called the Central Provinces was created in 1861, the country known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, first taken under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council and then attached to the N. W. P., was again detached from the N. W. Provinces and added to the new province. The province of Benares on its cession to the British was first attached to Bengal and then transferred to the N. W. Provinces. In 1874, the province of Assam, with Sylhet and Cachar, was detached from Bengal to be constituted into a separate Administration. In 1877, Oudh had been amalgamated with the Administration now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Sindh had been bodily annexed to Bombay on its conquest by Lord Napier in 1842. Arakan once formed part of Bengal and now again is a Division in Burmah. The latest province in British India has been constituted about 3 years ago by taking away certain districts and *Tehsils* from the Punjab according to a plan believed to have been drawn up by Lord Lytton in the later seventies of the last century. Thus, an occasional shuffling of the provincial cards has, no doubt, been going on for a long time but this has more often tended to create diversity than uniformity in the several provinces of British India.

The nine large British Provinces ought to be brought down to a certain definite standard of administration and size. General Chesney has suggested in the last edition of his *Indian Polity* that there should be a general levelling up, instead of levelling down, of the British provinces and the entire country ought to be parcelled out into a number of provinces of tolerably uniform size and importance with the least possible additional expenditure.

The new province of the North-West Frontier ought certainly to be extended to include the whole of Beluchistan, now under a separate Administration. It is difficult to see why there should be two separate Chief Commissioners side by side to guard and watch the western frontier of India. One is good enough in view of the fact that both Beluchistan and the New Frontier Province are in immediate touch with the Viceroy and the Foreign Office. Then again, the New Frontier Province has been constituted in that disregard of natural boundaries. The Indus ought to be made, what by nature it is, the boundary between India Proper and

A scheme of territorial redistribution of the Indian Provinces

its Frontier Districts. Hazara, now in the new Province, ought to come back to the Punjab as it is on the left bank of the Indus and the entire district of Dera Gazi Khan, lying to the west of the Indus, should be transferred to the new province. The main portion of the Derajat is now inhabited by *Pashtu*-speaking Pathans and frontier tribes and has not much in common with the settled and civilised districts of the Punjab. One possible objection to this proposal would be that the Punjab, having already lost several thousand sq. miles and 5 Districts by the creation of the new province, would not bear any further shrinkage. But the loss in this direction can easily, and should, be made up in another. This should be done by detaching the whole of Sindh from Bombay and attaching it to the Punjab. Sindh occupies the delta and valley plain of the Lower Indus and is geologically allied more to alluvial Punjab than to basaltic Deccan and should not, therefore, be separated from the Land of the Five Waters. Its people too, who are mostly Jats and Mahomedans and speak a language which is very much akin to the *Punjabi*, the dialect of the Doabs of the Indus and its tributaries, bear much greater affinity to the Punjabis than to the Marathas or Guzeratis of Bombay. Besides, Punjab badly wants a sea-port and Kurrachee will readily meet with this want without an extra pice being paid for this advantage or prejudicing the interests of any other province. Kurrachee and Hyderabad, both however, need to be further divided as they are now too inconveniently large as administrative units. The natural division of Kurrachee by the Indus ought to be availed of to split it up into two districts. Thar and Parkar, though comprising an extensive area, is perhaps too much arid to derive much benefit from any division at present.

Delimiting the Punjab within the Indus on one side and the Sutlej on the other, the Districts of the Hissar, Delhi and Umballa Divisions and Ferozepore of Lahore would come out of its jurisdiction. It must not be forgotten that most of these Districts were not included in the Punjab since a long time, they having been transferred to it so late as 1859 from the then N.W.P. Now that we propose to attach Sindh to the Punjab, these cis-Sutlej districts ought to come back to the province from which they were transferred at a moment of administrative emergency. Most of the districts of the Delhi and the Umballa Divisions are politically separated from the Punjab by the Phulkian States and geographically by the Indian Desert in the south-west. These Districts are joined to the Punjab by a narrow strip of British territory both in the north and the south, the Ferozepour District and Hissar Divi-

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sion on one side and Umballa on the other, which, being on this side of the Sutlej, have also a natural claim to be transferred back to the United Provinces of Agra and Oude.

From the historical standpoint, the absorption of Delhi in the Punjab is an act of almost unpardonable neglect, as Delhi, of all places in India, has a prescriptive right to be the capital of a great province, if not of a great Empire. If these districts are brought out from the Punjab, the Punjab will be, as its name implies, and as it always has been, the land of the Five Waters only, and Delhi will again be able to regain her lost glories as the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oude.

It may be argued against us that the United Provinces of Agra and Oude are already a big enough Administration, having more districts than those of Madras and Bombay put together and that it would be impolitic to extend its territorial jurisdiction by bringing back within its area all the cis-Sutlej districts. It may be admitted that, next to Bengal as it was before October last, the United Provinces of Agra and Oude constitute the most important and responsible provincial Administration in all India and that the Lieutenant-Governors of these provinces have to keep an eye over the affairs of as many as 49 Districts, some of them again being of very wide dimensions. The United Provinces and Bengal have between them 96 Districts or nearly as many Districts as Madras, Bombay, Punjab, Beluchisthan, and Central Provinces have put together have at the present day. What we now intend to propose is that the United Provinces and Bengal ought to be divided into 3 separate Administrations, one extending from the Sutlej to the lower Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges, with Delhi as its capital, the second from the Betwa river and the Fyzabad and Rae Bareilly Divisions of Oude to the Purneah District with Allahabad as its capital, and the other from Dinajpur, Santhal Pergunahs, and Ranchi to Midnapur and across the sea-board to Chittagong, Sylhet and Kamrup, with Calcutta as its capital. The first of these provinces may well be called the United Provinces of Agra and Oude, the second may be constituted under a similar name as the United Provinces of Benares and Behar and the third of course may retain its present name of Bengal.

The great advantage of any territorial redistribution on these lines will be that it will leave the entire Bengalee-speaking race from east of Purneah to Kamrup and from Dinajpore to Midnapur under one, the *Vraja* and *Kanouji*-speaking races of Upper India under another,

and the Eastern-Hindi (or the *Maithili*, the *Magadhi* and the *Bhojpurī*) speaking people under a third administration of a size and importance not very much unlike each other.* The inhabitants of Bengal Proper have made no secret of their intention to remain, through weal or woe, through good report and evil, a *united people* bound up indissolubly by common ties of language, blood, habits and customs, while Behar has recently set up a cry, which is every year gaining in strength and persistence, of *Behar for the Beharis*. Again, every body knows that the languages, both spoken and written, and the customs and habits of the people of Behar, and above all its history, have precious little in common with those of Bengal Proper. Under the circumstances, it would be at once *prudent as well as just* to detach *willing* Behar from Bengal instead of dividing *unwilling* Bengal into two.

This was also suggested by no less an authority on Bengal administration than Sir Henry Cotton at a conference held in the Calcutta Town Hall early in January, 1905.

To characterise such a suggestion as a selfish one and not, therefore, entitled to serious consideration is only confusing issues and an outrage upon commonsense, reason, and the elements of Political Science. The point now to be decided is not an hypothetical one as to whether a similar objection *can be* raised by Behar, Orissa or, for the matter of that, by any other part of Bengal, but whether such an objection is at all *likely to be raised*, and, if raised seriously, can it have the *force* of a similar objection from an integral part of Bengal Proper?

Speaking at Mymensingh early in 1904, Lord Curzon scouted the idea that the language and the social conditions of any considerable part of the people of any country could be seriously affected by any administrative or political divisions of the Government of that country. The history of the world is almost every day demonstrating the truth of the proposition that the conditions of the Government and those of the people of a country continually react and reflect upon one another to a very appreciable extent and one need not have to travel over foreign lands or go over the history of foreign countries to be furnished with an opposite illustration. The unifying tendencies of British rule on the one hand and its disintegrating influences on the other are an object-lesson in the study of sociology and a very strong case in point. Everybody knows how fast is English taking the place of the Indian vernaculars in

* See Plate No. 10 in Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*.

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many parts of the country and how the late Max-Muller and other students of comparative languages of the world have predicted that the Anglo-Saxon speech is one day destined to be the common tongue of the Empire. Nor must one overlook the fact as to how such deep-rooted Indian institutions as idolatry, orthodoxy, caste, the system of joint-family life and hundred and one other immemorial customs of this country have been modified, relaxed or broken down under the predominating influences of the more individualistic civilisation of the Anglo-Saxon rulers of the soil. Mr. Risley, a distinguished ethnologist and student of Indian life, knows how, like many other things following the flag, the main classifications of the Bengalee Brahmins and Kyasthas followed the territorial divisions of United Bengal in Ballal Sen's time. In Western India, the predominating influence of the Mahrattas wrought a similar revolution in the social and political history of the various sections of the people of the Deccan. What has happened once may happen again and many times over, for the tendency of history is to repeat itself.

From the 14th century onwards, the term Banglah (Bengal) has always applied to the united provinces of Lakhnauti (Barendra, north of the Padda, and Bagdi, the delta of the Ganges), Satgaon (Rarh, country west and south of the Ganges in Lower Bengal) and Sunnargaon (Banga proper, the country to the east of, and beyond, the Gangetic delta) to the limits of the districts of Chittagong, Sylhet and Kamrup. Previous to the Mahomedan period, *these very provinces* made up the Bengal Proper of the Sen kings and formed the basis of the caste classifications mentioned before and most of which still obtain all over these provinces. Under the Great Mogul, Behar formed a separate subah for a long time and was now and again joined to the province of Jaunpore or Eastern Oude. The Mogul plan should be followed up by the British in this case to make Pengal and Behar two distinct provinces, uniting the latter with the Hindi-speaking country now lying between the rivers Karmanasa and the Betwa, the lower Jumna and the Ghogra with the Division of Rae Bareilly thrown in. Behar has no sentiment to remain tied up as an appanage to Bengal and would much rather prefer to be associated politically, as historically and ethnically it is, a part of the Hindi-speaking world of Upper India.*

* 'The Province of Bihar was for centuries much more closely connected politically with the United Provinces of Agra and Oude than with Bengal. . . . The face of the Bihari is ever turned towards the north-west ; from Bengal, he has only experienced hostile invasions. . . . The Biharis have desired for several centuries to sever all connection with the people to their east.....' *Report of the last Census*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 318.

This arrangement would of course necessitate the Uriya-speaking country to be separated from Bengal and the main portions of the two districts of Assam—Goalpara and Kamrup which lie north of the Brahmaputra and, according to Sir William Hunter, 'display an ethnical character approximating to Bengal' and are also linked up with the history of that province as well as the Bengalee-speaking district of Sylhet—brought back to the administration of Bengal.

As for Chota-Nagpore, it needs considerable development, and Bengal being the province which has come forward to undertake the work in right earnest, it should not be detached from it for some-time yet. Chota-Nagpore will further act as the lungs of Bengal as it is a very dry and healthy tract of land and very sparsely populated. Some districts in this Division, however, should be split up for greater administrative efficiency and supervision and the greater diffusion of education among their semi-savage tribes.

Assam, of course, under the name of the North-Eastern Frontier Province, will be left with the remaining Districts
Assam of Eastern India with its loss made good by the transfer to its jurisdiction of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from Bengal and the entire Division of Akyab from Lower Burmah. The four Districts in the Akyab Division are to all intents and purposes Indian districts ; they are also separated from Burmah by a long range of mountains ; and the people of these districts have for a long time been connected by commerce and political association with the kingdom of Bengal and are far from being mainly either Burmese or Buddhist. The Chittagong Hill Tracts are also inhabited mainly by people of the Indo-Chinese race and are, therefore, very much akin to the Assamese Districts. This should, therefore, be brought out from Bengal to be attached to Assam. The portion of the Kamrupa and Goalpara Districts, south of the Brahmaputra, which will be left to Assam will have to be incorporated into the Garo Hills District. All this would give Assam an opportunity to exploit with considerable profit and advantage its economic minerals as well as would find for it the natural outlet for its commerce which it is described to be so badly in want of. Akyab, in spite of a bar at the mouth of the Kuladan, is bound, if its interests are energetically pressed forward by the Government of India, to develop into as good and fine a harbour in the long run as Chittagong can ever hope to be ; and this arrangement will successfully prevent the much-feared of

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diversion of many items of the export and the import trade of these provinces from the port of Calcutta. Assam would immediately gain as much as it would lose, but, with accession of fresh territories in our north-eastern frontier beyond the Himalayas, and with a slice taken out from the upper regions of the largest Indian province now existing, Burmah, (as soon as the railway connects India with that country) it would no longer remain the Cinderella of the Empire but would make a tolerably decent charge for a Governor in the future.

Having thus re-distributed the territories of Northern India from the Indus to the Surma, we shall now proceed to bring Western, Central and Southern India also into line, so far as possible, with geographical and ethnic conditions. Berars, recently acquired from the Nizam, and the Nagpore Division of the existing Central Provinces, two Mahratta-speaking territories, are allied to Bombay in language, manners and historical associations and should form part of that province and would prove a sufficient set-off to the loss of Sindh. The territorial insufficiency of the Central Provinces can be made up by joining with it the portion of the Jhansi District which lies south and west of the Betwa river and the Lalitpur District of the existing United Provinces of Agra and Oude—a strip of the Central Indian Plateau wedged in between the Native States of Malwa and those of Bundhelkhand. To this must also be added the whole of Orissa and the district of Ganjam, taken out from Madras, bringing, as the Government of India would have it, the entire Uriya-speaking people under a single Administration. The absorption of Orissa in the Central Provinces is no novel idea, historically at least, as Orissa was under the rule of the Bhonslas of Nagpore for some time and their re-union to-day would afford to the latter province an outlet into the sea and an opportunity to develop its enormous mineral and economic resources. Madras is to remain as it is, *less* Ganjam. It goes without saying that some of the districts in the Madras Presidency need to be divided into more compact and manageable units for the convenience and advantage of both the Government and the people. For instance, each of the districts that has over 7,000sq. miles of area at present, i. e. Vizagapatam (17,380), Cuddapah (8745), Nellore (8739), Madura (8401), Coimbatore (7842), Salem (7653), Kurnool (7788), Godavary (7345), Kistna (8471) and North Arcot (7256) is much too large for an administrative unit and should be divided into two. This would give Madras 31 districts in place of the existing 22.

In support of some measure of territorial redistribution on the above lines, we have the following authoritative **General Remarks** opinion of Sir George Chesney :—

“After a brief term of a separate Government for Sind, that province was attached to Bombay, but the amalgamation has been from the first distinctly inconvenient and inappropriate. The people of Sind differ entirely in race and language from the people inhabiting the rest of the Bombay Presidency. The port of Karachi, on the other hand, is the natural outlet for the commerce of Punjab, and the line of separation between the two provinces is purely artificial. The main line of railway through Sind is merely a continuation of the Punjab system of railways, and is administered from Lahore ; while the control of diplomatic relations on the mountain frontier of Sind was many years ago removed from the cognisance of the Bombay Government. The propriety of transferring Sind from Bombay to Punjab has therefore long been recognised. The practical objection, beyond the temporary inconvenience which attends all such changes, is that with the loss of Sind and its three millions of people and fifty thousand square miles (a large part, however, consisting of desert), Bombay, already the smallest of the great provinces, would still further become disproportionately small. A rational compensation, however, might be given by adding to Bombay some of the western districts of the Central Provinces, inhabited by Marathi-speaking people in close affinity with those of the adjacent Bombay provinces, and for the trade of which Bombay is the natural outlet. If this change were now carried out, compensation might advantageously be given to the Central Provinces by attaching to it some, if not all, of the existing districts now known under the general name of Orissa. The parts of these ceded by the Marathas in the time of Lord Wellesley were added to the Bengal Presidency as the only arrangement possible at the time and they formed part of the Lieutenant-Governorship created in 1854. But land communication between Bengal and Orissa has always been difficult and tedious, and although this difficulty may eventually be overcome by railways, the people of Orissa are not Bengalis ; it would be advantageous to give the Central Provinces an outlet to the Sea, and a great advantage to reduce the excessive size of the province of Bengal.”

The proposed re-distribution of territories would leave the leading peoples of India—the Maratha, the Bengalee, the Punjab, the Hindusthani—in well-defined provinces in which they may ‘flourish or may fade,’ sink or swim, together. Bengal for the Bengalee, Bombay for the Marathi and the Guzerati, Punjab for the Punjabi and the Sikh, Agra and Oude for the Western Hindi,* and Benares and Bihar for the Eastern Hindi, speaking peoples—that seems to be nearly an ideal territorial redistribution. Nor would such a division of the country affect the sentiments or wound the susceptibilities of any large section or class of people in India. Ethnically, the bulk of the people in 5 of the re-constituted provinces would be Hindus of Aryan descent, in the sixth Iranian, in the seventh Dravidian, in the eighth Mongoloid and in the last Uriyas, Gondhs and mixed tribes. Geologically, the entire basaltic country would come under new Bombay, the archæan under Madras and Central Provinces, and the alluvial country covering the entire breadth of India from west to east under 4 large provinces. The whole of Assam, as proposed to be reconstituted with the Arakan Districts, will geologically be a uniform country of cretaceous and tertiary

* See the last *Census Report*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 327 *et seq.*

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soil. It is interesting to note in this connection that the ranges of mountains that rise from the seas beyond Sindh at Cape Monze and stretch without a break across the Himalayas to the Patkai and Arakan Yoma and sink into the Bay of Bengal at Cape Negrais are throughout fringed with cretaceous and tertiary soil.* According to Mr. Blanford's scheme of natural divisions, the Indo-Gangetic plain consists of the Punjab tract, the N. W. P. tract and the Bengal tract. The Punjab tract of Mr. Blanford is the "plain west of Delhi, including the Punjab and Sindh." The N. W. P. tract is "the plain from Delhi to Rajmehal" of which "the Indo-Gangetic Plain East takes in West Bengal, Central and South Bihar and the adjacent districts of the United Provinces from Mirzapore to Allahabad." The Bengal tract lies between "Rajmehal to the Assam hills, together with the plain of the Brahmaputra as far as Goalpara, and also Cachar, Sylhet, the plains of Tipperah and all Lower Bengal."† This natural division of Upper India would very nearly correspond with the re-adjusted provinces of the scheme suggested above. Historically, the Punjab, the whole of Hindusthan Proper, Bengal, Assam and Orissa in the north, Madras and Deccan in the south, and Central Provinces in the middle of the peninsula would, under the proposed re-adjustment, be all restored to their particular zones of traditional romance and historical glories.

The main provinces of India, according to this scheme of redistribution, would each correspond in the main with some definite historical areas and kingdoms.

Bengal would correspond with *Banga* of the Indian Epics; with *Gangirada*, *Passida* and *Kumrup* of the Greek historians; with *Kamrupa*, *Pundra* and *Samatata* of Hwen-Thsang's time, and to the subah of *Bangla* of the Mogul.

The United Provinces of Behar and Benares to the land of *Angas*, *Magadhas*, *Videhas* and *Kasis* of the Epic time; with *Magadha*, *Vesali* and *Savatthi* of Asoka's time and of the Greek historians; with *Vaisali*, *Vriji* and *Sravasti* of Hwen-Thsang's time, and with the subahs of *Behar* and *Allahabad* of the Mogul.

The United Provinces of Agra and Oude with *Brahmavarta* of the Vedic times; the land of the *Kurus*, *Panchalas* and *Kosalas* of the Epic days; with *Kosala* of Asoka's Edicts; with *Sthaneswara*, *Mathura*, *Ahighrata*, *Govisana*, *Brahmapura*,

* See the plate on Geology in the *Statistical Atlas of India* (1895).

† See the last *Census Report*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 7 and p. 35.

and *Srughna* of Hwen-Thsang's time, and with the subahs of *Oude*, *Agra* and *Delhi* of the Mogul.

Punjab with *Aryavatra* of the Vedic times ; with *Punjab* and *Sindhu* of Asoka's time ; with *Tuki* and *Sindhu* of Hwen Thsang's time, and with the subahs of *Lakõre* and *Multan* of the Mogul.

Bombay with the land of the *Western Chalukyas* of Epic days ; with (Maha-) *Rastika* of Asoka's time : with *Maharashtra* of Hwen-Thsang's time, and the subahs of *Berar* and *Khandesh* of the Mogul (a large part of the province of Bombay did not come under the dominion of the Mogul at all).

Central Provinces and Orissa with the *Wilderness of Danduka* and the land of the *Eastern Chalukyas* of Epic days ; with the tract of land between Sanchi and Rupnath and the kingdom of Andhra, together with Orissa of Asoka's time ; with *Maha-Kosala* and *Utkala* of Hwen-Thsang's time, and with the subahs of the *Gondwana* and *Orissa* of the Mogul.

Madras with *Kerala* (beginning from the west coast), *Pandya*, *Cola* and *Kulinga* of Asoka's time ; with *Konkana*, *Dravida*, *Malakuta*, *Dhanakakata* and *Kalinga* of Hwen-Thsang's time and with the subah of *Telinghana* of the Mogul (the bulk of the province of Madras remained outside the Mogul Empire).

The Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oude and the United Provinces of Benares and Behar would correspond with the three main divisions of Ancient Hindustan—*Aryavarta*, *Brahmavarta* and *Mithila*—the home of the purer castes of Brahmanic Aryans and of the purer forms of Brahmanic Hinduism. Bengal would lie east of Hindusthan Proper and be restricted to the area which the Bengalee-speaking and *Sakti* or *Kali* and *Durga*-worshipping people of Eastern India have occupied almost since the beginning of the historical era. *Dakshinavarta*, or Deccan and Dravida, would correspond with Bombay and Madras, *minus* the territories of the Native Princes.

The above re-distribution would give us 34 districts in Bengal as well as in the United Provinces of Agra and Oude and 28 in the United Provinces of Benares and Behar. Each one of these must be considered a decently large charge for a Governor and Council and these three together may continue to remain as three sister-provinces of Northern India without needing any further territorial re-distribution till the last days of the Empire.

The map of British India, according to the proposed changes, would be divided into the following provinces, the number remaining

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the same as they are at present, with their area and number of districts noted against them :—

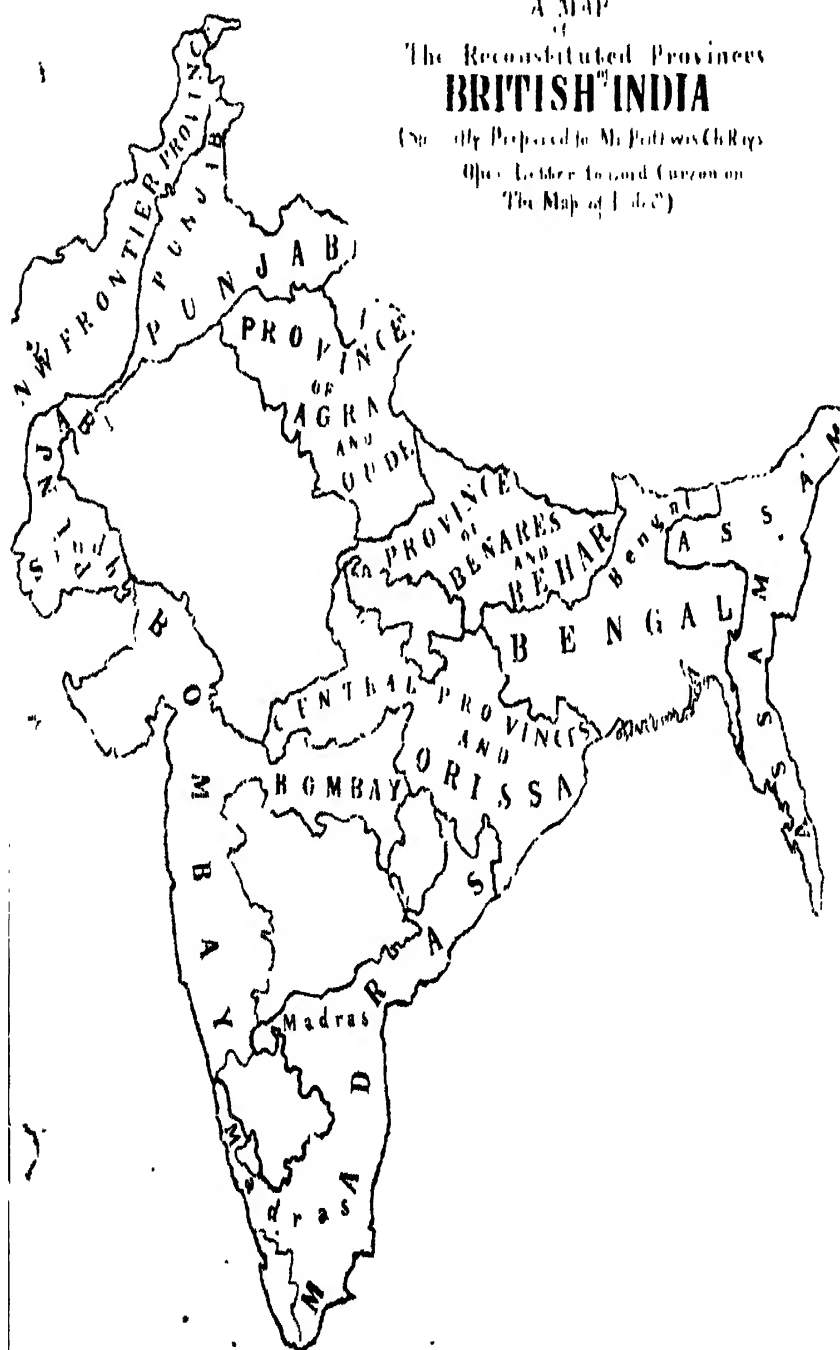
PROVINCES	NO. OF DISTRICTS	AREAS
Under a Governor and Council :—		
Bengal (including Calcutta) ...	34	110,292
Bombay (including the City of Bombay)	32	117,865
Madras (including the City of Madras)	31	131,589
Punjab	26	113,943
United Provinces of Agra and Oude	34	81,371
United Provinces of Benares and Behar	28	79,265
Central Provinces and Orissa ...	23	80,716
Under a Chief Commissioner :—		
The N.-W. Frontier Province ...	12	66,787
The N.-E. Frontier Province (Assam)	15	55,418

Though considerable difference in the area and number of districts would also appear in the above redistribution, it must be noticed that, excepting two Chief Commissionerships on either end, the mainland of India has been proposed to be divided into 7 provinces, each under a Governor and Council, with very much well-defined boundaries. The number of districts in the main provinces varies, according to this proposal, from 12 to 34 while the existing variation is from 5 to 49. The areas of the provinces, according to the changes suggested above, would vary from nearly 55,000 to 130,000 sq. miles, while, according to the existing arrangement, they vary so widely as from nearly 17,000 to about 150,000 sq. miles. If the Central Provinces will have the least number of districts among the more important provinces, the fact must not be lost sight of that its resources require immense development and careful husbanding and its ruler will have to deal with a greater diversity of people than any other administrator in India. The United Provinces of Agra and Oude and Bengal will still have, as now, the largest number of districts among all the provinces, and Madras with a less number of districts will have a much larger area than either of the above. The proposed new province of Benares and Behar will have more districts and divisions than the Punjab but its area would barely come to two-thirds of that of Madras. All districts that have now an area of over 7,500 sq. miles, but do not comprise any arid region, should be further divided, thus bringing the district areas also within a certain definite standard of size.

According, therefore, to the line of change suggested in this article, the provinces under Governors will each have about and over 80,000 sq. miles, the more important provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras

A MAP
of
The Reconstituted Provinces
BRITISH INDIA

(Specially Prepared for Mr Pitt Rivers by
Office of the Survey of India
(The Map of India))



and the Punjab having more than 100,000, and none exceeding 132,000, sq. miles. The areas in the two Provinces under a Chief Commissioner would not vary appreciably, and the number of districts in one will be 12, in another 15.

In spite, however, of all the difference and divergence noted above, there will *still* be a much greater uniformity of administration as well as of the number of districts and area of the main provinces of India than exist at present, and here the fact must be borne in mind that "a still greater uniformity is impossible, short of sub-dividing India into a very much greater of Provinces and Divisions and Districts."

A map of British India, according to the lines proposed above and based on the latest District Map of India as published from the Surveyor-General's Office, is reproduced in another page from the *Map of India*.

In the above scheme, we have avoided all references to population as it is the most unreliable and shifting of all bases for a general re-constitution of the provinces. The provinces or districts that are now thinly or sparsely populated may in the course of a century or two be some of the most densely-populated ones and *vice versa*, and no scientific or any satisfactory redistribution of British Indian territories is possible upon such a shifting basis. Everybody knows that if a country is to be divided into provinces according to the standard of area, the question of population cannot be taken into serious consideration ; and if according to population, then area has to be partially ignored. Of these two, every reasonable man must admit that area is by far and away the better and surer basis for a general division of a country, specially in view of the facts that nowhere can population be a stable quantity and that, in India at least, the districts which are rich in agricultural, mineral and economic resources only feel its pressure too keenly, while the vast country outside is very unequally inhabited. Nor must the fact be forgotten, that no Governor or Administrator is concerned with the affairs of any number of people *individually* but have only to deal with their interests and problems *collectively*. A greater homogeneity in the people, however numerous, and a closer affinity of racial and historical characteristics are, therefore, bound to appeal to every practical statesman as much the wiser bases for all territorial re-distribution than bringing together different classes and manners of people, living all sorts and conditions of life, *however small in number*, and putting them under one administration. The actual work of government or adminis-

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tration becomes also much easier over a homogeneous people than over a strange amalgam of various races, with the interests of one class of people in perpetual conflict with those of another.

Nearly all the provinces will have their capitals and the summer seats of their governors unchanged, but capitals will have to be provided for in the cases of the Central Provinces and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oude and the United Provinces of Benares and Behar. Jubbulpore, Delhi and Allahabad, respectively and naturally, will claim to be the capital towns of these provinces ; the last is already a capital town now and the first two are also big enough cities to need of any additional expenditure in order to occupy those proud positions. As for their summer capitals, Dalhousie will be the capital of the Punjab, Naini-Tal of the United Provinces of Agra and Oude and the summer seat of the ruler of the Central Provinces in the Mahadeo Hills will also remain undisturbed. A summer capital will have to be found for the new province of Benares and Behar, but any good station in the Nepal Himalayas might answer that purpose.

Into the question of the additional expenditure that this re-distribution of the provinces will naturally and necessarily involve, it is not our intention to enter here. All that we need say here is that the additional expenditure will comparatively be very small as the *number of the provinces will remain the same as at present*, and if several districts have been divided in our scheme, many again will have to be united. The additional cost, at any rate, is not likely to exceed very much the amount which the Government of India have already undertaken by 'reduplicating the official machinery of Bengal,' in the language of one of its late Secretaries of State, Lord George Hamilton.

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A large stock of Silks for Wraps, Coatings and Shirtings, &c., just received.

BOOTS & SHOES

A large and varied assortment of gents' and children's Boots and Shoes in black, brown and shot-grained leather always in stock.

Strong, Comfortable and Cheap

STEEL TRUNKS

Just received a large number of strong and cheap Steel Trunks both of cabin and high sizes, with brass locks. Neat in appearance and finish.

CARPETS, ASSANS & BLANKETS AT EXTREMELY MODERATE PRICES

TAILORING DEPARTMENT

Tailoring Department under an experienced English cutter. Charges moderate and guaranteed.

Silks ! Silks !! Silks !!!

Kosi Silk Chaddars for summer use	...	from Rs. 6 to 15	each
Benaraspur matka Chaddars for every-day use	...	"	6 to 13 "
Garad Chadar...	...	"	6-14 to 24 "
Garad coloured Chadar	...	"	4-8 to 21 "
Garad Saris (white and coloured)	...	"	11 to 56 "
Garad Dhooties	...	"	8 to 16 "
Garad Joris	...	"	8 to 35 "
Benares Saris (plain and embroidered)	...	"	8 to 160 "
Benares Joris	...	"	13-12 to 40 "
Sajma Chumki Saris	...	"	18 to 50 "
Indian Cigars	...	Rs.	1-12 per dozen
Indian Soaps	...	As.	6 to Rs. 1-8 per box
Fresh Ghaupur Rose Water	...	from Rs.	2-4 to 8 per quart bottle
Indian Niba (made of German Silver)	...	As.	2-8 per dozen
Indian Scents mild, lasting and fragrant	...	As.	5 to 14 per bottle

Inspection Invited : Satisfaction Guaranteed.

All kinds of Indian goods for everyday use always in stock

